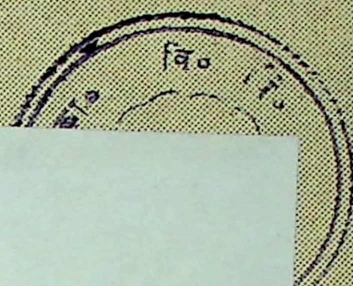
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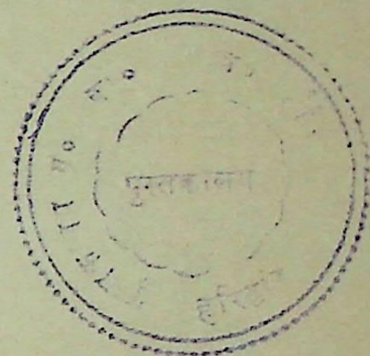
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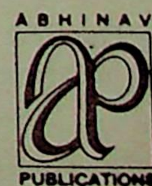
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Study in Art and Culture

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FOREWORD

R.P. Srivastava in his *Punjab Painting* has presented a systematic and well researched study of the art of painting in the undivided Punjab of the last century, specifically during the reign of Ranjit Singh and his immediate successors. He has given a thorough coverage to the murals, miniatures and manuscript illuminations assignable to the period. The work is more comprehensive than the previous publications in the field. For instance, it has included the paintings which were produced in the erstwhile cis-Sutlej States like Patiala, Nabha, Kapurthala and Faridkot. The author has made an intensive study of these paintings which have not so far received the attention they deserve. I agree with the main thesis of the author that notwithstanding the influence of the Pahari paintings of Kangra, Basohli, Guler and other Hill States (now included in Himachal Pradesh), the painting of the Punjab plains developed an idiom of its own and thus it was by no means an offshoot or extension of the Pahari painting as is held by some scholars. Srivastava has buttressed his contention by some literary material, hitherto unknown or little known.

Much labour has gone into the making of this work. The author has spared no pains to undertake extensive field-study and he has collected data from diverse sources. One of these sources pertains to the families of the artists. The information gathered from Sri Ramji Dass of Patiala, whose ancestors did paintings at Patiala, Nabha and Sangrur, belongs to a family of this genre and is very useful. The discussions on the principal artists and their families are thus meaningful and interesting. The chapters on the 'theme' and 'stylistic analysis, material and technique' give evidence of the diligence and critical acumen of the author. The appendices, particularly A, B and C, will prove to be of substantial help to the prospective researchers in the field. The bibliography is fairly exhaustive and the illustrations quite rich and representative.

Punjab Painting will be regarded as one of the most authoritative works in the field for many years to come. And I am confident it will be welcomed by scholars on Indian art in general and Punjab art in particular.

Department of Ancient Indian History & Culture
Calcutta University, Calcutta
23 February, 1983

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

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PREFACE

The present study is the outcome of research work done leading to the award of degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Meerut University, Meerut (U.P.). An attempt has been made here to trace out a definite style of painting, including wall painting as also the manuscript illustration, which flourished in Punjab in the late eighteenth and the whole of the nineteenth centuries. Punjab in this context connotes the kingdom of Ranjit Singh known as trans-Sutlej Punjab, as well as the region ruled by the Sikh chiefs of cis-Sutlej states.

Although earlier studies by Dr A.K. Coomaraswamy, J.C. French, N.C. Mehta, Dr W.G. Archer, Dr Mulk Raj Anand, Dr M.S. Randhawa and Dr B.N. Goswamy have drawn attention to the state of painting in Punjab, they erroneously attribute the entire credit for the development of this phenomenon to Pahari painting. Nevertheless, it was, in fact, a continuous tradition in Punjab, with Lahore as the capital of all the rulers, right from the times of Mahmud Ghazni and the later sultans, reaching its zenith in the Mughal period and continuing even during the time of Ranjit Singh when we are fortunate enough to locate ample evidence—visual as well as documentary—to prove that the art of painting flourished here even before the conquest of Hill chiefs by the Sikh monarch. All this belies the statement that Punjab painting was an offshoot of Pahari painting. Some external influences, however, cannot entirely overlap local genius. Secondly, the development of visual arts in cis-Sutlej states has been altogether ignored by the learned scholars. This lacuna has now been filled by this study. Hence, this study establishes that Punjab painting (both trans- and cis-Sutlej regions), which had thus far remained a neglected part of the history of Indian art, has been a vitally important partner of the mainstream of national style. The label of "Bazar Style", which some scholars used to ascribe to it, can no longer be valid hereafter.

Apart from the above, an attempt has also been made to track down the movement of artists and their families at the centres of patronage of art and culture. It has helped us a lot in locating a particular style of painting which flourished at and travelled to several places like Lahore, Amritsar, Patiala and Delhi and vice versa. It is hoped that a long-felt need for a book on Punjab painting shall be fulfilled by this publication.

The active cooperation of the following scholars was always available to me: Professor (Dr) B.N. Goswamy (Head of the Department of Fine Arts, Punjab University, Chandigarh), the late Dr W.G. Archer, Dr (Mrs) Mildred Archer (London) through several useful letters, Prof. Joanna Williams (California), Prof. Walter Spinks (Ann Arbor), Prof. R.N. Frye (Cambridge), Prof. Stella Kramrisch (Philadelphia), Prof. (Dr) J.E. Van Lohiveen-de Leeuw (Amsterdam), Academician Boris J. Stavisky (Moscow), Dr R. Nath, Jaipur, Prof. (Dr) Heinz Mode (Halle, GDR), Prof. (Dr) Joachim Peuke (Halle,

GDR), Prof. (Dr) W.H. McLeod (University of Ottago, Dunedin, New Zealand), Prof. (Dr) Napier Gerald Barrier (University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, USA), Prof. Stuart Cary Welch (Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, USA), Dr J.C. Harle (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford), Prof. (Dr) G. Tucci (Rome), Prof. (Dr) H. Hartel (W. Berlin). Dr Pushppal Singh (Patiala) helped me in deciphering some religious motifs in the paintings, Prof. G.S. Rahi assisted me in studies of Sikh scripture, the late Dr B.N. Sharma, National Museum (Delhi), had helped me in several technical matters relating to the scholarly publication of the research work. Dr Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta of Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, obliged me with valuable advice in the presentation of this publication. I do not have adequate words to express my grateful thanks to Mr Arif Rahman Sahib Chughtai, Director, Chughtai Museum Trust, Lahore (Pakistan), who offered me his selfless services, records and other literature for my researches in this regard. I am also extremely obliged to the former Maharajadhiraj of Patiala, Capt. Amrinder Singhji, who placed at my disposal some of his rare collection of fine arts. Prof. Gopal Kirondiwal (Amritsar) ungrudgingly translated for me material from Rajasthani into Hindi. Prof. P.S. Sekhon prepared quite a few photographs for this work. Prof. P.S. Arshi, Head of the Department of Fine Arts, Government College for Women, Patiala, gave me some valuable suggestions. Dr A.S. Srivastava, my maternal uncle at Birmingham (U.K.), gave me substantial financial assistance and Mr Rajeshwar Sahai Mathur was kind enough to go through the manuscript.

I am thankful to Dr Jagjivan Mohan Walia, S. Mohan Singh and Dr K.S. Kang for help in this work. Mr Raghbir Sayal did a marvellous work in typing out a clean manuscript for publication.

I cannot help mentioning here my indebtedness to my learned and illustrious supervisor Dr P.C. Barua, Head of the Department of Fine Arts, J.V. Jain Degree College, Saharanpur (U.P.), but for whose constant guidance and generous encouragement coupled with a humorous pat this work, perhaps, would not have seen the light of day. My son Sanjiv Srivastava has been a great help in the selection and arrangement of photographs for this project. My daughter Sangita also helped me in several other ways. This brief note would be incomplete if mention is not made of the silent sacrifices, in terms of time and money, of my wife Mrs Pushpa Srivastava, who had to bear the brunt of it for the last twelve years.

Lastly, I must express my heart-felt gratitude to Shri Shakti Malik of Abhinav Publications for accepting and publishing this book so well that it stands comparison with art books published in Italy or Germany.

R.P. Srivastava

Patiala (Punjab)
February 27, 1983



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If any scholar or organisation/institution remains here unacknowledged, the lapse is purely unintentional.

LIST OF COLOURED TRANSPARENCIES

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RAJPUTANA
SIND
Jaisalmer
Ajmer



1. Mohammed Salah Mimar by Umar Din Naqash (1840-1860) Lahore.
Courtesy Chughtai Museum Trust, Lahore (Pakistan).



II. Arjun, the Victor by Mohammad Abdul Rahman Chughtai (Circa 1960). Courtesy Chughtai Museum Trust, Lahore (Pakistan).



CHAPTER I

THE PUNJAB IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE 19th century Punjab, the Pentapotamia of Greek historians, the north-west region of the empire of Hindustan was a conglomeration of many big or small native states and principalities. The great network of lofty Himalayan mountain ranges along the north included the states of Chamba, Mandi, Suket and Nahan, as also the hill stations of Simla, with its smaller mountain states, the famous Kangra, the Nagarkot of Abul Fazl, and the valleys of Kulu, Seoraj, Lahoul and Spiti, with Dalhousie to the farthest north.

(a) PUNJAB UNDER RANJIT SINGH

Nineteenth-century Punjab, as tne rest of India, witnessed many cataclysmic events, which resulted in the downfall of several monarchs and their provincial governors, and, the coming to power of new feudal lords. New empires arose on the ruins of the past, giving birth to new historical horizon replacing old culture values.

The Mughal government at Delhi, which had ruled for four centuries over vast territories of Northern India and deep down up to Bijapur in South India, crumbled down slowly and steadily from the time of Aurangzeb and was wiped out by the time of Bahadur Shah Zafar. In 1857 British took possession of Red Fort, Delhi, and the last Mughal emperor was deported to Rangoon on 16 September 1857. Delhi experienced untold misery, cruelty and butchery at the hands of the invaders. Fierce fighting had taken place in the streets, lanes and houses. All the wealth (including art objects and library) of the royal court was looted and sent to England. Simultaneously, there were numerous claiments to the Delhi throne, viz, the Marathas, Rohilas, Jats and Sikhs from Punjab, but due to their own personal animosity and dissensions, intrigues and treacheries, lack of political expediency and diplomatic farsightedness, they all failed and finally the British became the masters of Delhi.

Consequent upon the weakening of the Mughal government at Delhi, the provincial governors were losing control over the administration. Hence, there was a golden opportunity for Ranjit Singh, a young Jat youth of Sakarchakia Misl, to capture Lahore and declare himself a Maharaja in 1799 making the fullest use of the political situation which prevailed during those precarious days in Punjab. Fluid and chaotic conditions favoured Ranjit Singh to have full grip over vast area from Multan to Kashmir extending to the borders of Afghanistan and then up to east of Sutlej from where the British territory started. His kingdom was surrounded by major Sikh landlords, and other princes in the plains, and, on the eastern side were Pahari Rajput chiefs of Himalayan principalities of Kangra, Nurpur, Chamba, Basohli, Jasrota, Guler, Nahan, Arki, etc.

Having occupied the Lahore throne, Ranjit Singh behaved like any other oriental monarch. His desire for conquest was virtually fulfilled but it gave rise to the self-conceited sense of expansion which he successfully achieved by devouring weaker feudal lords.

Although he was uneducated and unlettered, Ranjit Singh was an intelligent ruler, a shrewd diplomat, a kind-hearted Jat, a noble and generous hearted religious donor, with a keen eye to distinguish between loyal and rebel citizens and officials of his administration. Though a devout Sikh, he never allowed communal feelings to interfere in his administrative affairs. His ministers, officers of the government, envoys and other functionaries were drawn from different religious sections of the society. He had full faith even in foreigners employed in his court, who reciprocated his confidence fully, Ranjit Singh was a man of aesthetic taste. He encouraged fine arts, viz, painting, manuscript illumination and building activities, and gave grants to religious denominations for the maintenance and decoration of places of worship. To all intents and purposes, Ranjit Singh was the ablest feudal administrator of the nineteenth century.

Such a mighty Maharaja who held sway practically all over the territories of Punjab was a terror to the smaller Sikh states of the Malwa region (also known as Cis-Sutlej states). The British also feared this Lion of Punjab and hence concluded the Treaty of Ropar (beside Sutlej) on 31 October 1831, and the latter never dared to lay hands on British territory in his lifetime. It was only after Ranjit Singh's death that the British fought two bloody wars 1845-46 (Mudki), 1848-49 (Chillianwala) with his successors and defeated them and thus rung the curtain down on the glorious drama of the Sikh kingdom of Lahore. Ranjit Singh's successors, i.e., Kharak Singh, Sher Singh, Naunihal Singh, and Duleep Singh, Tara Singh, Multan Singh, Kashmira Singh and Peshora Singh, had not ruled for more than ten years when the annexation of Punjab took place in 1848. All the nation-building activities slowed down and all the regal grandeur decayed. The kingdom remained in name only. After the death of Ranjit Singh, Kharak Singh and Sher Singh ruled. Naunihal Singh went away for some time, Duleep Singh was taken away to Fatehgarh (U.P.) in 1850 in his very teens and was baptised on 8 March 1853. What followed was a lamantable tale of royal family wrangles, palace cliques, conspiracies among the generals and ministers for the throne which led to utter administrative confusion and social chaos resulting in total collapse of Punjab at Lahore. This paved the way for the British takeover of Punjab in 1849.

(b) BRITISH PUNJAB AFTER 1849

The British had now full control over the territories which were formerly ruled over by Ranjit Singh. British officers took over the key posts and retired the officers of the previous regime. Only those who pledged their loyalty to the new masters continued under the British administration. New administrative units were created, new district boundaries were demarcated, entire administrative machinery was remodelled on the British pattern. Old social, moral, psychological values were altogether revolutionised. Everybody saluted the Union Jack, and sang the British National Anthem. English culture was penetrating fast and Punjab was placed under the direct charge of Governor-General-cum-Viceroy of India, whose local representative was the Lt-Governor Sir Henry Lawrence, who introduced several public welfare schemes on modern lines.

An exhibition of articles of *Tosha Khana* of Lahore Durbar was held in London 1851.[1] The exhibition included costly armament, ornaments, household articles, antiques, books and paintings. Apart from this, many hundreds important documents were also ransacked which now embellish the show-rooms of Victoria and Albert Museum, London,[2] or treasurehouses of the ancestors of the British officers who were at the helm of affairs in Punjab at the time of annexation in 1849.

The British policy was vigorously followed by Sir Donald Mcleod who inaugurated the railway, road and canal communication in 1853, linking one part of the country with another. The beginnings of English educational system were made when the University College was started in Lahore in 1868. Then, on the advice of Punjab government, the Viceroy agreed to establish a University under the

University Act of 1882 on 14 October 1882 along with other academic bodies, viz, Syndicate, Senate, etc., to meet the educational needs of the elite of the region. The office of Director of Public Instructions was created to look after and consolidate the school and college administration in Punjab. Scholarships and financial assistance were given to Jat students. Wards of those who had helped the British were specially fevoured. For training in drawing, painting and design the Mayo School of Art was established in 1875 in Lahore and completed in the spring of 1882. The Punjab Public Library was started on 31 December in 1885 by Sir Charles Atchison.

Delhi also had the first taste of British administration after its fall on 16 September 1857, Alfred, the Duke of Edinburgh, visited India. He also went to Punjab where a grand durbar was held at Lahore in 1870. It was here that all the Sikh chiefs pledged their allegiance to the British crown and it was in this spirit that they had already supported the British advancing troops with money and men against Bahadur Shah's attempt to remain independent. Consequent upon this help, the British crown rewarded the Sikh chiefs in some form or the other, i.e., extension in jagir, titles, pension, and other privileges.

Meanwhile, an educational institution was set up in 1886 at Lahore, called the Punjab Chief's College, exclusively for the children of royal blood, on the lines of Eton. The Punjab Public Service Commission was also started in December 1886 to recruit public servants of honesty, integrity and administrative calibre. Everybody looked forward to a settled life under British raj. Educated youth hoped to join some government service or other and felt themselves raised above the soiling masses. Big landlords, and even small sardars tried to ape the British aristocracy.

(c) THE PHULKIAN STATES

Irrespective of the political role of the Punjab princes at the most critical juncture of Indian history, one must not forget their notable contribution to regional, local, sub-local history and culture. Many noteworthy traditional values in art, architecture and music developed in these princely states of Cis-Sutlej region. Talented musicians flourished, prominent artists were given shelter, poets and writers of high order were honoured in the courts of Phulkian sardars. The patronage extended to the promotion of various branches of fine arts is remarkable. But, while reviewing the development of painting in all its aspects in these states, it would not be out of place to draw attention to the salient features of this cultural development, which have not been noticed by historians so far. It has been well said that only the major currents in the cultural streams are specifically given credit and that the minor subterranean currents, which help in making the major currents, are altogether left out of consideration. Hence, the publicity media, scholars and historians have not so far touched upon this rich heritage of this ilaqa.

The salient features are: the aesthetic taste of the rulers, religious tolerance and cosmopolitan outlook which were practised in Patiala, Kapurthala, Jind, Nabha, Faridkot, Kalsia, Nalagarh, Malerkotla, etc., which formed the part of Phulkian and Cis-Sutlej states. These principalities enjoyed full regal rights and privileges during the last two hundred years. Patiala was the oldest and most powerful of all these. The Patiala chief along with the others belonged to the Phul dynasty. Their great grand ancestor Chaudhary Phul belonged to the Bhatti Rajput clan having roots in Jaisalmer (Rajasthan).[3]

Artists, musicians and scholars of eminence flocked to these centres from as far as Delhi, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh (formerly known as Kangra and Simla Hills). Poets composed panegyerics, musicians sang classical songs giving birth to several prominent *ragas* of Hindustani music. There was, thus, a continuous process of assimilation of cultural values between the Phulkian states and the neighbouring states of Himachal Pradesh as well as Rajasthan which were already famous for their highly-developed artistic expression of miniature painting and musical production of *ragas* and *raginis*. We may, then, well visualise the resultant artistic creations of the Phulkian states.

Patiala

Patiala occupies a prominent place where art and culture developed right from the very beginning. Its founding father, Baba Allah Singh, was a great soldier who built up the state after migrating from Jaisalmer (Rajasthan) in the eighteenth century. He was in the good books of the Mughal government and helped it in various military expeditions against Durrani and Abdali, for which hew as awarded a jagir and other favours such as the title of Maharaja. His successors built the outer walls of Qila Mubarak in the Rajasthani style, Dewan-e-Khas, Dewan-e-Aam, Old Moti Bagh Palace, Sheesh Mahal, Gurdwara Dukh Niwaran Sahib, Gurdwara Shri Guru Teg Bahadur, temples of Kedarnath, Badrinath, Tungnath, Shahi Samadhan (royal cemetery) and Mahendra College—all the best symbols of aesthetic taste of the rulers. Art, architecture, music and fashion--everything took its birth at Patiala and gave rise to what may be termed as classic renaissance of the Phulkian region.

It may not be out of place to record here that most of the architectural monuments were built during the reign of Narinder Singh (1845-62) and his son Mohinder Singh (1862-76). Both of them were great and liberal patrons of fine arts. Narinder Singh constructed the Old Moti Bagh Palace at the cost of five lakhs of rupees on the pattern of Shalimar of Lahore, the gurdwara in front of it at one and a half lakhs and the Dewan-e-Khas at five lakhs. Sheesh Mahal in the rear of Moti Bagh Palace was also constructed by him in 1847 which possesses the world-famous frescos with a stylistic affiliation to Pahari paintings of Guler and Kangra where the art of painting and poetry was at its zenith. Here it should be mentioned that these frescos, which depict the Hindu Pantheon, reflect the religious fervour of the ruler. Although Narinder Singh tried to copy the Shalimar of Lahore, what he got was pure and excellent Rajasthani architecture as most of the builders, masons, architects and artisans hailed from there. Quite recently the Punjab Government Museum and Archaeological Department acquired some five hundred drawings, sketches and tracings of artists from one Ramji Dass who belongs to the family of artists who worked at Patiala, Nabha and Sangrur. Recent discoveries show that fresco and miniature painting developed in Patiala simultaneously. This is also established by the records in the National Archives of India.[4]

Every building bears a clear-cut impression of Rajasthani *chhatri*, kiosk and tracery which resemble the delicate and ornamental baroque romance style of Rajasthani temple architecture in which red sandstone of Bharatpur and marbles of Rajasthan quarries were extensively used. The same material was used in Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Red Fort, Delhi.

Kapurthala

Kapurthala holds a no less position in the creation of art and architectural masterpieces. Palaces were built at the cost of five million rupees in the Renaissance style designed by an eminent French architect and a mosque was constructed in Moorish genre. Miniature painting and manuscript illustrations continued in this state also with the full vigour under the patronage of the ruler who belonged to Ahluwalia Misl of Cis-Sutlej region. From the artist's version the buildings worth studying are: Shalimar Bagh constructed by Fateh Singh, Court Hall outside the city resembling the Chief Court of Lahore built at the cost of five lakhs of rupees by Jagjit Singh, Randhir College, Cantonment, Kothi, Library, gardens and parks.[5]

Jind

Yet another Sikh princely state of Phulkian region of note is Jind (Jheend being the old spelling) under its able and educated ruler Raghbir Singh (11 November 1833 to 7 March 1887). After the death of his father Sarup Singh on 26 January 1864, Raghbir Singh ascended the throne on 31 March 1864 and made Sangrur his capital. Many notable achievements in the development of literature (both Hindi and Punjabi) as well as in the growth of aesthetic taste took place. Many beautiful

buildings came up, viz, markets on the lines of Jaipur, a Dewan-Khana and a marble Baradari, and a Pucca Tank known as Bhuteshwar at Jind with Shiv Temple in the centre of it on the lines of the Golden Temple, Amritsar. Another sacred tank was constructed at Safidon named as Nag Chhetra.[6] Sangrur, being the capital town, was transformed overnight and surrounded by gardens, parks and temples to the surprise of everyone.[7]

Nabha

Only sixteen miles away from Patiala City, lies the princely house of Nabha. Its rulers Jaswant Singh (1783-1840) and his son Devinder Singh were under the influence of a Brahmin priest, Bishan Dass. He patronised *bairagis* much more than any other faith. He started Thakur Dwaras and donated jagirs for their maintenance. Sanskrit was much respected and Hindu way of prostrating before any deity was enforced in the court of Devinder Singh.[8] His son Bharpur Singh was himself a good artist as he had received training in drawing human figures[9] perfectly well. During the reign of Hira Singh some important works of art and architecture were executed—a residence was built at the cost of fifty thousand rupees, a kothi in Pucca Bagh was constructed costing two lakhs of rupees.[10] All the four queens were provided with separate palaces in the fort. It is interesting to note that the frescos in the Rani Mahal in one of these palaces are worth studying and are similar to those in the Sheesh Mahal at Patiala. There is every possibility of artists migrating from Patiala to Nabha and farther onwards in search of new patrons or just higher wages, jagirs, etc. We find that artists who worked for some time at Basoli, Chamba and Guler also worked later at Lahore, then at Patiala and also at Sangrur in Nabha. A critical and comprehensive field-survey of artists' movement from place to place led the historian of art of this region to conclude that this area has always been left out of study by the scholars of history in general as also by the prominent art historians of national repute.

(d) OTHER INDIAN STATES

Apart from the art and cultural activities in the Phulkian region. the contribution of neighbouring Punjab Hill states (now known as Himachal Pradesh), was also very significant. It was there that the renowned Kangra style of painting took birth and blossomed in the eighteenth century. There were about thirty-eight Himalayan principalities, viz, Baghal (Arki), Banderlta, Bangahal, Bashahr, Basohli, Bhadrawah, Bhadu, Bhan, Bhoti, Chamba, Chanehri, Dalpatpur, Garhwal, Guler, Hindur (Nalagarh), Jammu, Jasrota, Jaswan, Kahlur (Bilaspur), Kangra, Kashtwar, Kotla, Kulu, Kutlehr, Lakhanpur, Mandi, Mankot, Nurpur, Punch, Samba, Siba, Sirmur (Nahan), Suket and Tirikot. But the most famous and important were Guler, Jammu, Punch and Kangra. These Pahari Rajput princes employed artists of first-rate skill who did wonderful work on religious themes, royal portraits as well as murals in temples, palaces, and illustrations of religious texts i.e. *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Bhagwat Puran*, *Shiva Puran*, *Markandeya Puran*, *Bihari Sat Sri*, *Gita Govind* of Jai Deva. All told, they covered everything relating to the Vaishnavism, Saivism and Devi cult, which were the state religion of these rulers.[11] *Ragas* and *Raginis* and *Baramasa* were also executed with fedelity.

Since the artists of these Pahari states migrated to Punjab plains and worked for the Sikh princes, it would be worth while to record here the position they occupied and contribution they made in the development of what is known as the Kangra style or now currently interpreted as Pahari painting. It had its meaningful influences in various centres of Punjab plains. A brief description of each prominent Pahari state shall not be out of place to mention here.

Basohli

But for the solitary instance of a history in Urdu by Kahan Singh Baluria, details of Basohli rulers are, in general, as sketchy as those of other Rajas. Two early rulers, however, emerge as possible pat-

rons of painting. The first was Sangram Pal (1635-73), successful in war and with intimate experience of Mughal court of Shah Jahan. His adoption of Vaishnavism, perhaps in the middle years of his reign, may have been encouraged by contacts with Rajasthani rulers during visits to the imperial court at Delhi. The example of Rajasthani Vaishnava painting, specially in Mewar, may thus have contributed to the first appearance of painting in Basohli. The second important early ruler was his successor Kirpal Pal (*c.* 1678-93). Although reacting against Sangram Pal's strong Vaishnava bias, Kirpal Pal was scholarly and religious and may thus have made the Basohli court a cultural centre. A dated series of pictures, executed at the end of his reign, proves him to have been an actual patron.

From 1722 onwards until the end of this line in 1836, all seven successors were minors, and only one of them lived beyond the age of thirty-one. As a consequence, strong feminine influences must have heen operative for at least five to ten years in every reign. Since the Vaishnava cult often appealed to the palace ladies than to the men, this circumstance might explain the increasing production of paintings on Vaishnava themes.[12]

Chamba

As in other states of Punjab Hills, local archives and records, though surviving in Chamba to a marked degree, give little idea of the rulers. The following points may, however, be made. Claiming descent from Rama, all the Chamba rajas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (with the exception of Udai Singh and Ugar Singh) were either exceptionally religious or highly moral. Prithvi Singh's pilgrimages and acquisition of the family idol, Raghubir, Chattar Singh's defiance of Aurangzeb and Dalel Singh's abdication in order to lead a religious life are only some of the more striking instances of what was, by and large, a general trait. The predominance of the cult of Rama in Chamba court life explains the unusual prevalence of *Ramayana* and Rama themes in local painting. It is significant that one of the most religious of eighteenth century Chamba rulers, Dalel Singh, reigned from 1735-48, a period which, in certain other states, was markedly important for painting.

From the last third of eighteenth century until the end of nineteenth, four Chamba rulers—Raj, Charat, Sri and Sham—were minors at the time of their accession. The queen-mothers played important role in state life. This fact may also partly account for a strong emphasis on religious themes—palace ladies in the Punjab Hills, as elsewhere in India, tending to be even more devout than their male counterparts.[13]

Guler

The state of Guler played a decisive role in the development of Pahari painting in the eighteenth century. Not only did it develop a local art of the greetest delicacy and charm, but the final version of this Guler style was taken to Kangra in about 1780, thus becoming the Kangra style itself. Guler is not merely one of thirty-eight small centres of Pahari art, it is the originator and breeder of the greatest style in all the Punjab Hills.

Before we discuss anything else, we must take note of three points. When Guler was founded in 1405 as an offshoot of Kangra, a series of unusual circumstances gave it a special relationship with the parent state. Its first Raja had already ruled in Kangra before founding Guler and being older than the Kangra successor had retained a higher order of social precedence within the family unit, the Katoch Rajput clan. This higher status was inherited by his descendant and as a result it was Kangra which invariably looked to Guler, not Guler to Kangra. How far this led to a constant respect by Kangra residents for Guler taste we cannot say, but if this powerful state did in fact adopt the art of its minor neighbour, the existence of this special relationship may well have been a contributing factor.

But the geographical position of Guler is also of some significance. Lying south of Kangra by the river Beas, it was easily accessible from the plains and as a result was continually subject to outside influence. It was perhaps for this reason that although at various times its rulers achieved great military

glory, their wars were normally conducted under the Mughal aegis. Rup Chand (*c*. 1610-35), for example, waged twenty-two campaigns in the Hills, but largely at the instance of his overlord, Shah Jahan; Man Singh (1635-61) achieved renown as a general of Aurangzeb, while Bikram Singh (1661-75) also served in the imperial forces and it was probably during one of these campaigns that a Mughal artist portrayed him riding on an elephant.

Further, because the state was close to the plains, its rajas were precluded from meddling in politics and thus were free to cultivate the arts. And this made possible an equally important development—stimulation by outside artists.

Throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the most accomplished centres of Indian painting—the centres with the highest degree of naturalistic skill—were all in close contact with the imperial Mughal court. With decline of the empire, there occurred a far more general diffusion of late Mughal style and while we need not assume that artists actually migrated from Delhi to the Hills, painters on the fringes doubtless moved much further on. If the rise of Kangra painting is due to the inoculation of a local style with Mughal refinement and naturalism, no other state except Guler, at the foot of the Kangra valley, was better situated for nourishing this development.[14]

Kangra

Throughout the seventeenth and until the middle of the eighteenth century, the Kangra state was crippled by the capture of the great Kangra castle by the Mughals (1620); the continued presence in it of a Mughal governor and the loss to Mughals of the state's western half. As a consequence, despite its former position as the greatest and oldest state in the Punjab Hills and the location of three famous centres of pilgrimage—Bhawan (Kangra), Baijnath, and Jwalamukhi—its rulers lived under a shadow, either meekly attending the imperial court or resorting to fierce but ineffective underground warfare. In place of the castle of Kot Kangra, forts and palaces in the eastern half of the state were of greater importance. Among these were Sujanpur Tira, Alampur, Nadaun, Lambargaon and Bijapur—all of them situated either on or close to the river Beas. Not until the appearance of Ghamand Chand (ruled 1761-74, but strongly influential from 1750 onwards) did the former undivided Kangra state begin to re-emerge. Almost all the western part (except the castle) was then won back, fresh territory was acquired, tribute was executed from minor neighbours, and in general influence, the state began to rival Jammu, Chamba and Kahlur (Bilaspur). Nonetheless, the experience of the last century and a half could not be easily erased and it was the Beas valley rather than the castle at Kangra which remained the centre of Kangra courtly life and the core of its culture.

The return to power of Kangra was rendered possible by Afghan interventions in the Punjab plains, leading to collapse of Mughal authority and by Ghamand Chand's own skill as a politician, military commander and organiser of mercenaries. His son Tegh Chand survived him for only a year, but under his grandson Sansar Chand (born 1765, ruled 1775-1823) Kangra steadily increased its authority for thirty years. During this period, the Kangra castle was regained and tribute was mildly exacted. With the invasion of the Kangra by the Gurkhas in 1806, Kangra paramountcy lapsed, the castle was taken by the Sikhs and Sansar Chand suffered eclipse. His son Anirudh Chand (born 1786) ruled from 1823 to 1828 but was then replaced by Sikhs, who a little later were in turn replaced by the British. During the Sikh and British periods, Sansar Chand's descendants became landlords.

Until the reign of Ghamand Chand, there is no evidence that Kangra had any local painting or that conditions strongly favourable to art existed. It is true that a new township, including a garden palace, was built at Sajanpur and also a shrine to Chamunda Devi (Goddess of War) was added to Sujanpur fortress of Tira. Apart from these limited activities, however, Ghamand Chand seems to have been too much involved in military affairs and in expanding the state as a feudal power to concern himself actively with art and culture.

Like Akbar, Ghamand Chand may have realised the value of portraiture as a guide to the characters of his neighbours and rivals and also as a means of boosting his emerging image. It is

therefore possible that during his reign, part of the collection of portraits of neighbouring families seen at Alampur by Moorcraft in 1820 was built up. Moreover, the fact that his grandson, Sansar Chand, had inherited a portrait of Alexander the Great (Moorcraft, 1820), suggests that at least some pictures were in his possession. Apart from these however, there is nothing to connect Ghamand Chand or his court with active patronage, nor is there any local or family tradition associating him with painting.

By contrast Sansar Chand seems to have been not only a masterful and ambitious ruler, but from his boyhood onwards showed an exceptional interest in painting. Two pictures exist showing him actually looking at pictures, and with the exception of a portrait of Balwant Singh of Jammu, these are the only known examples of portraits showing a Pahari ruler engaged in this activity. As early as 1864 (i.e. only forty years after his death) Baden Powell had noted that he was a great patron of painting and this reputation was still alive when French visited the Kangra valley in 1929 and met his descendant, the Maharaja of Lambargaon.[15] The reputation has survived until the present day. In addition to the oral tradition, there is the first-hand account of the traveller Moorcraft who visited his court in 1820, three years before Sansar Chand's death. In his account, "fondness for drawings" is singled out as one of his outstanding characteristics. It also refers to his "immense collection" comprising of not only portraits but paintings of religious and mythological subjects and also to the fact that even after his downfall he still had several artists in his service. The names of three of his artists (Khushala, Fattu and Purkhu) are preserved by tradition, while a fourth (Gaudhu) occupied a prominent position. In view of his success in making Kangra not only the greatest but richest state in the Punjab Hills, his personal interest in and devotion to Krishna, his attachment to music, dancing and singing, it is obvious that all the conditions necessary for creating a great school of painting were present.[16]

The personality of his son, Anirudh, was at complete variance. He was very orthodox, over-attached to Brahmins, corpulent and inactive and with little capacity for administration. He is not remembered for showing any interest in dancing, music or painting.

Garhwal

Although Garhwal was one of the largest states in Punjab Hills, it was one of the poorest—its villages often comprising six or seven houses and its mountainous terrain discouraging cultivation. Because of this poverty, no tribute was levied from it by the Mughals—Akbar being told that it was like a lean camel, up and down and very poor. From about 1700 until 1802, conditions slightly improved and by Garhwal standards, the state was to an extent prosperous. The "Dun", however, was constantly ravaged, settled by outsiders and then wrested back, with the result that there was little constant wealth. The earthquake of 1802 and the Gorkha occupation of the state from 1804 to 1815 caused utter devastation. It seems clear, then, that while conditions may not have been totally unfavourable to painting in the second half of eighteenth century, no Garhwal ruler could have afforded a large establishment of artists. Although the state was re-organised as Tehri Garhwal in 1815, following expulsion of the Gurkhas by the British, its lack of resources must have prevented lavish patronage of art.

The Gorkha occupation may also have had further a effect—the loss, disruption or dispersal of the royal collection of pictures in the capital of Srinagar. This circumstance may explain why the existing Tehri Raj collection of pictures throws little light on Garhwal painting in the eighteenth century whereas the family collection of Balak Ram Shah, the humble descendant of a local artist, has been the chief source through which the Garhwal painting and drawings first reached the outside world.

Although its general poverty may have made Garhwal unattractive to outsiders, the situation of Srinagar, six marches into the mountains from the plains, kept it fairly immune from inter-state politics further west. At the same time, it was far from being completely isolated—one mule track



III. Theme from Omar Khayyam by Mohammad Abdul Rahman Chughtai (Circa 1965). Courtesy Chughtai Museum Trust, Lahore (Pakistan).

IV. Punjab theme as Khizar fish incident by Mohammed Bakhsh (Approx. 1880-1900).



linked Srinagar with Bushahr, Mandi, Kangra and Guler, and a second crossing the hills descended to Bilaspur. The important pilgrimage centre of Hardwar was also near the "Dun" and this may well have brought rulers, courtiers and artists of other states into the vicinity of Garhwal.

As in other states, few Garhwal rulers emerge with clearly defined personalities and few, if any, inferences can be drawn as to their possible influences on painting. It may, however, be significant that Pradhyuman Shah (1785-1804) struck Daniel and Hardwicke as nervously sensitive (if that is how their accounts can be construed) while his attachment to the courtesan Lakshmi (recorded by Mola Ram) may have resembled the passion attaching to the romance of Baz Bahadur and Rup Mati (she is supposed to have eloped with him in 1803). If any painting was done during his reign, therefore, it would have accorded with his temperament.

Although the Gorkha occupation ruined the countryside and could well have caused outside artists to retreat, the Gorkha governors, Hastidal and Bam Shah, ruled with mild indulgence at Srinagar itself. It is possible, therefore, that painting was continued in Garhwal during the occupation, though on a reduced scale.

Of Tehri Garhwal rulers in the nineteenth century, Sudarshan Shah (1815-59) seems to have had a reputation for intelligence and culture and the fact that two of the finest series of Kangra pictures reached Tehri Raj collection in 1829 when he married the two daughters of Sansar Chand of Kangra suggests that he took an active interest in painting.

Although details about religion are scanty. The *Gazetteer* is emphatic that the prevailing bias in Garhwal was towards Shiva rather than Vishnu. The available Krishna pictures may perhaps be connected more with ladies and princesses brought in from other states to marry Garhwal rulers, than with Garhwal rulers themselves. In view of this, it is significant that pictures on very definite Shiva subjects can be connected with Garhwal and that irrespective of subjects, male and female figures are frequently shown with Shaiva-tilak-marks on their foreheads. These sandal paste lines in the shape of crescent moon appear on figures in painting from Mandi, another state with a strong bias towards Shiva.[17]

Jammu

During the eighteenth century two members of the Jammu royal house—Ranjit (1735-81) and his youngest brother, Balwant Singh (born 1724, died 1763) stand out as potential influences on the development of Jammu painting. Ranjit came under heavy Mughal influence during his years of exile (1735-47) but later made Jammu the most powerful state in the western part of Punjab Hills. Jammu town prospered and he himself was renowned for religious toleration, especially of Muslims. The Jammu family was Vaishnava in sympathy and this could account for paintings of Krishna themes. Ranjit Dev's political successes and wide contacts with other states might explain a Jammu bias towards portraiture.

His youngest brother, Balwant Singh, shared his taste for portraiture but is remarkable for harnessing it to a cult of his own personality. The portraits executed under his aegis form a separate category which is unique in the Punjab Hills. His relationship with a particular artist, Nainsukh of Guler was cordial.[18]

Punch

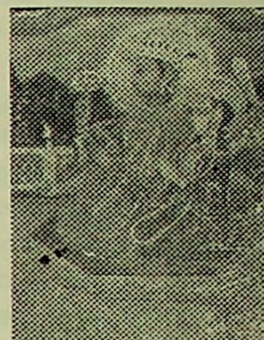
From 1910 to 1952 was assumed to have had a distinctive school of local painting—Coomarswamy, Gupta, Mehta and Goetz taking its existence for granted, and the present writer endeavouring to reconstruct its history on the basis of certain pictures of known Punch provenance. In the view of Chandra and Khandalwala, the grounds adduced were inadequate since the pictures in question were more readily assignable to other states and their Punch provenance was adventitious. Later research has confirmed this view with the result that apart from some nineteenth century paintings in broadly

"Kangra Valley Style" and certain murals, Punch must now be deemed to have had no indigenous school of painting.[19]

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3. It may be mentioned here that Punjab at that time was governed by the chiefs of twelve misls, viz, (1) Bhangi Misl, (2) Ramgarhia Misl, (3) Kanhiya Misl, (4) Nakai Misl, (5) Ahluwalia Misl, (6) Duliwalia Misl, (7) Nishanwala Misl, (8) Fyzalpuria Misl, (9) Karora Singhi Misl, (10) Shahid and Nihang Misl, (11) Phulkia Misl, (12) Sakerchakia Misl—ibid., pp. 296-345.
4. R.P. Srivastava, "Patronage of Fine Arts under the Sikh Rulers of Punjab", *The Sikh Courier*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (Summer-Spring), 1973, pp. 4-10.
5. Diwan Ram Jas, *Twarikh-Riyasat Kapurthala* (Urdu) (Lahore: Guru Gobind Singh Press, 1897), pp. 6, 7, 10, 124.
6. *Punjab State Gazetteer*, Vol. XVII. A (Phulkian State—Patiala, Jind and Nabha), 1904, 1909 (Lahore: Punjab Government Press), pp. 131-32.
7. Giani Gian Singh, *Tawarik Guru Khalsa* (Amritsar: Naranjan Singh and Sons, N.D.), p. 163. See also R.S. Mathur, "Raja Gajpat Singh (1738-1786)" (Unpublished Ms.), Archives Department, Patiala, p. 35.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 106-09.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 119, 121.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 127.
11. J. Hutchinson and J.P. Vogel, *History of Punjab Hill States* (Lahore, 1933, I), pp. 99-198: *Punjab District Gazetteers*: *Kangra District* (Lahore, 1926), pp. 45-114; G.C. Barnes and J.B. Layall, *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of Kangra District* (Lahore, 1889), pp. 1-15; W. Moorcraft, *Travels in Himalayan Province of Hindustan and the Punjab*, edited by H.H. Wilson (London, 1837), pp. 107-82; and see also Ghulam Muhi-ud-din, *Tarikh-i-Punjab* (Persian) quoted: Hutchinson and Vogel, I, p. 181.
12. N.C. Mehta and Moti Chand, *The Golden Flute* (Indian painting and poetry), (New Delhi, 1962), Plate 8, "Krishna Lifting Goverdhana".
13. Dr B.N. Goswamy, "The Traveller Von, U falvy and Pahari Painting" in *Roopa-Lekha*, Vol. XXXIV, 1 and 2, New Delhi, pp. 10-18; See also Dr M.S. Randhawa, "Some Portraits of Rajas of Basohli in Kangra Style", ibid., pp.5-9.
14. Dr W.G. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London: HMSO, 1952), pp. 17-44.
15. Dr W.G. Archer, "Problems of Painting in the Punjab Hills", in *Marg*, Vol. X, No. 2 (March 1957), pp. 33-36.
16. Dr M.S. Randhawa, "Kangra Paintings of Bihari Sat-Sai", in *The Times of India Annual*, 1964, pp. 29-37.
17. Mukandi Lal, *Garhwal Painting* (New Delhi: Publication Division), p. 35.
18. Dr W.G. Archer, *Indian Painting in the Punjab Hills* (London: HMSO, 1952), pp. 45-70.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-84.

CHAPTER II



PAINTINGS IN THE PUNJAB—A SURVEY

(a) MURALS

FROM what we know of ancient art monuments and their literary as well as visual evidence, mural painting has come down to us as a cultural heritage of which we can be justly proud. So far as our knowledge goes, mural painting first started in India in the first century A.D. with Ajanta. From Ajanta it travelled to Ellora, Bagh, Sittanwasal, Sigriya (Sri Lanka), and even further east to in China and Japan, to Bamiyan (Afghanistan) and Central Asia where first Hinduism penetrated and was later most probably replaced by Buddhism. The murals of Central Asian region found in the Buddhist monasteries, palaces and public buildings bear very close resemblance to the style, technique and expression employed by the artists in Ajanta. This Ajantaesque style gradually and steadily spread into neighbouring areas also. In Gujarat it appeared in crude and grotesque book illustrations (this is what we may call as the decadent phase of Ajanta spirit). But Rajasthan maintained its high quality of flowing and rhythmic lines of human figures in murals as well as in miniatures. The secret of first drawing the themes and then finishing them in natural musical modes was known only to artists of Rajasthani origin. Rajasthani mural technique excelled every other idiom of its time. It travelled to the Mughal court and from there to Western Himalayan states (popularly known as Himachal Pradesh). Every Rajput prince in Himachal Pradesh had his palaces, forts and temples painted and decorated with some sort of religious theme or the other. Specifically Vaishnavism, Shaivism and Devi cult etc., prevailed in thirty-eight odd states of Himachal Pradesh.

Charles Fabri surmises that mural painting must have been done in ancient Punjab and that careful excavation might reveal murals in this region.[1]

Mural painting in Punjab flourished from the times of Akbar, its concrete evidence has come down to us from the Lahore Fort murals as described by a Punjab historian, Muhammad-ud-din Fock. He states that the walls of the Lahore fort were decorated with the pictures of Mirza Rustam, ex-Emperor of Kandahar, Khan Khanan and Khan Azam etc. In one place Jehangir has been shown seated on a carpet, flanked on left and right by Prince Khuram and Sultan Parvez. Likewise, Asaf Jah, Jagan Nath, Mirza Sharif, Ram Das, Karn Singh, Bir Singh have been painted[2] on the walls. The beautiful ornamentations of ancient Gandharav Buddhist monasteries are well known to us.[3]

In spite of Islamic inhibition to drawing of human figures in visual arts, the sultans who ruled over northern India encouraged mural painting according to S. Amjad Ali, who quotes Taj Reza:[4]

That the mural painting was much patronized even by the earliest Muslim rulers in the north

is confirmed by a glimpse of Delhi under Iltutmish (1210-36 A.D.), given by the historian Taj Reza, who describes mural decorations there, including a large portrait of the Sultan, which were made to adorn the streets of Delhi on the visit of the envoy of Caliph Mustansinbillah in 1224.

Mural painting continued in some form during the rule of the Khilji dynasty. Tarikh-i-Ferozeshahi mentions an order issued by Feroze Tughlaq for effacing murals from the doors and palace walls,[5] and painting flora and fauna instead.[6]

When the Mughals came to power, mural painting received greater patronage as is clear from the frescos upon the interior walls of their palaces and tombs.[7] Akbar was the first to have used painting as an embellishing device of architectures.[8] Jehangir has observed in his *Tuzuk-i- Jehangiri*[9] that he ordered his palace to be fully beautified with the works of great artists. A picture gallery of royal family members was painted. Harem scenes and drinking parties were also there.[10] The colours and designs of the Rangmahal built in 1630 by Shah Jahan[11] near Jagadhri are an example of Mughal frescos. Mural painting was in fashion not only in Mughal aristocratic circle but was also cultivated at the lower levels as is evident from the little octagonal tomb of Pirbandi Nakshawala built during the Mughal times at Sirhind which had been profusely covered with paintings of flowers.[12] It may be noted that a Hindu temple erected during the Mughal regime at Sat Sai in Gurgaon district, about the middle of the seventeenth century, had coloured frescos.[13]

Kashi work or glazed tile decoration was introduced into north-west India from Persia.[14] Several Muslim monuments, scattered all over the Punjab, bespeak of the glory of this once popular mode of decoration.[15] Lahore was the centre of this art. Early examples are to be found on the tombs of Rokin-i-Alam and Bahawal Hak at Multan[16] built during the reigns of the Slave and the Khilji rulers respectively. The mosque of Wazir Khan, erected in 1634 is the most beautiful and impressive[17] of the several monuments adorned with glazed tiles found in Lahore even today. Fresco painting, during the Mughal times, was frequently used as an adjunct to *Kashi* decoration, which, as a rule, was confined to the exterior [18] and surfaces to be protected from the weather were usually painted in fresco.[19]

That the art of mural painting was prevalent in Punjab, as a way of embellishing the walls, up to the seventeenth century is confirmed by the above references. However it began to languish.[20] The eighteenth century appears to have remained mostly barren of any serious activity in the field of pictorial art. Surprisingly, the instinct to decorate the surroundings sustained itself. This is evident from the *Thakurdwara* of Raghunath Dass[21] built in 1750[22] at Amritsar, now in ruins. In the Punjab, during the late Mohammedan and early Sikh times, it became a common practice to decorate with paints the woodwork of buildings; doors and windows were often elaborately treated in this way.[23] Not only the woodwork but walls too had their share in embellishments, for in the eighteenth-century Punjab murals in a somewhat rough styte had for long been common.[24] Examples may be seen in the still extant murals of a *Mari*, erected in A.H. 1203[25] (A.D. 1788) in Mari Mustafa, a village in the present district of Faridkot; in the temple of Shri Nam Dev, built in eighteenth century at Ghoman,[26] in Gurdaspur district; in a baradari at Kartarpur; and in the Ramnagar Palace at Jammu.[27] Some of the murals executed in the first decade of the nineteenth century, are also of some merit. Jahazi Mahal at Shujabad situated twenty-five miles south of Multan with its remarkable frescos, built by Muzaffar Khan in 1808[28] confirm the view that without any surviving tradition, "designs of great elegance in uncommonly fresh and pleasing colours"[29] could not have been painted impromptu. Dr Vogel's comments on these frescos, are worth quoting:[30]

> It is specifically noteworthy how devoid these frescos are of that gaudiness and harshness which often disfigures mural decoration in India. On their plain white background, their delicately tinged flowers present an air of charming simplicity and resemblance qualities the more striking in a period of artistic degradation and tasteless ostentation.

The dawn of the nineteenth century in Punjab brings us to the threshold of a new and fresh era

of pictorial art of mural painting and several instances of its having prominently come into vogue come to light. The *Samadhi* of Bhai Basti Ram built in 1802[31] at Lahore was neatly painted.[32] Elphinstone, while having a meeting with the King of Kabul at Peshawar in 1809, found the high walls of the oblong court painted with figures of cypresses.[33] The temple of Mansa Devi near Manimajra, completed in 1815,[34] was profusely decorated with murals. This mode of embellishment flourished at the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century,[35] bloomed till about the end of its third quarter and continued to be practised until the end of the century. Maulvi Nur Ahmed Chishti's *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti*[36] and Rai Bahadur Kanahiya Lal's *Tarikh-i-Lahore*[37] are full of references to temples, mosques and palaces of nineteenth-century Punjab, specially Lahore, where frescos were profusely painted.

It would be worth while to deal with the causes which encouraged mural painting in Punjab.

The teachings of Guru Nanak against image worship did not stand in the way of development of visual arts for religious worship. While for the development of the art of architecture and *gurudwara* buildings or military forts and outposts, scant attention was paid to pictorial art in the Sikh culture.[38] Moreover, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Sikhs were mostly concerned with the preservation of their entity and naturally could not spare much thought for cultural activities. However, there was a considerable change after the emergence of Ranjit Singh. The comparatively settled life and the glow of power channelled some of the energies of the martial race into avocations of higher tastes. With the shift of political supremacy to the Lahore court, art also became centred there. Consequent upon Ranjit Singh's suzerainty over the Hill rajas, entire social and political situation took a dramatic change: artists of these states found new patrons amongst Sikh nobles as well as in the Lahore and Patiala Durbars.[39]

The new political order created favourable conditions for the promotion of fine arts. This change encouraged Hindus and Sikhs not only to construct magnificent shrines without any fear of their being demolished by the rulers, but also to levish upon them architectural and ornamental decorations. Places of worship were also constructed by the rulers themselves. Mural decoration made headway as a matter of course. The Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims were equally fond of architectural decoration,[40] and this promoted the art of mural painting in Punjab.

After the death of Ranjit Singh in 1839 this artistic efflorescence had a definite setback. Following the annexation of Punjab by the British in 1849 western style and technique of painting began to spread. Building, construction, decoration and furnishing—all adopted British style of designing and painting which the native people mastered quickly and efficiently.[41]

Although mural painting lingered on up to the second decade of the twentieth century, the work of professional painter had become out of tune by the close of nineteenth century itself.[42] A few murals painted in the dome of Sri Darbar Sahib at Taran Taran in 1905,[43] on the fecade of *Gurudwara* Bauli Sahib at Goindwal in about 1920 and some later murals in the *Gurudwara* at Baba Bakala are only lingering echoes of a bygone tradition rather than harbingers of any future promise.

Punjab was lucky to have relations—political or matrimonial—on either side of its border, i.e. Himachal Pradesh as well as Rajasthan. The Lahore Darbar attracted artists from Himachal was worked at Lahore, Amritsar and Patiala; Phulkian invited artists and masons from Rajasthan. It was a two-pronged influx of artists, workers, masons and builders who not only migrated to the Punjab plains in search of livelihood but brought with them a cultural heritage which immortalised them as also their patrons. They exquisitely and tastefully decorated and preserved the most sublime emotions and highest thoughts of poetic imagination that then existed.

In fact, the painters of murals were the same persons who were engaged in making miniatures. This was because they were skilled traditionally and on hereditary lines to attempt both types of work. What actually mattered and where their work differed was the change, or the choise of their patron.

The causes and factors which were instrumental for the development of mural painting in Punjab plains are in the main two. One is religious, and the second secular.

Under the religious category are the following: Vaishnavite, Saivite, Devi Cult, Nanak Shahi, and Muslim establishments.

Under the secular category fall the buildings which were mostly the personal residences of kings, queens or princes; forts, palaces, gardens, terraces, samadhis (royal cemeteries), *dharmshalas* (pilgrim's inns); *havelis* of big landlords, nabobs, countries or ministers, etc.

A district-wise inventory of location of murals is given in Appendix A. This confirms that each particular denominational establishment had its building decorated with themes, motifs and other subject matter relating to that religion. They were built either by the philanthropic contributions or by the grants from the royal princes. It is significant to note that the Punjab princes used to sanction special grants[44] not only for the construction of temples and *gurudwaras* but made provisions for their maintenance[45] as well. Lands were granted and other collections were allowed to be made from the *ilaqa* for the maintenance of *granthis*, *mahants* or *pujaris*. This allowance was known as "*dhup-dip*" allowance.[46] The *Dharmarth* records of Ranjit Singh speak volumes of his manificence towards the construction and maintenance of religious institutions like *gurudwaras*, *thakurdwaras*, *bungas*, etc. of his kingdom (Appendix E). Giani Gian Singh's *Tarikh-e-Sri-Amritsar* contains valuable details in this regard.

Apart from the cash grants and land jagir which were given to these religious institutions, *begar*[47] (bonded labour) was also employed for their construction and maintenance. Persons belonging to carpenter and blacksmith communities were asked to do this job as they were considered to be low-caste by the then feudal lords. The genealogy of these artists shows that almost all of them belonged to the Ramgarhia community. Some of them were Brahmins or sonars (goldsmiths) engaged in the art of building and painting.

The purpose of the decoration of the building had always been twofold: (1) To raise the reigning prince in the eyes of his subjects, (2) to propagate religion through the medium of art as had been done in the hoary past by the Buddhist artist monks.

This has been done by almost all the principal religions of the world except Islam in which the drawing of human figure is prohibited. All the churches and cathedrals in Europe are decorated with the life and teachings of Jesus Christ. Early artists, Renaissance masters and later artists all painted on religious themes. In India, likewise, painting had helped the rapid spread of religion right from the earliest times. Buddhists, Jains, Hindus and Sikhs have all decorated their places of worship with powerful subjects in strong, impressive and imaginative colour schemes in order to attract larger number of devotees to the shrine.

The structure is beautified with ornamental foliage or with images of saints, sages, apostles and fairies connected with the life and teachings of prophets. This was done to forewarn the people about consequences of their sins. Exemplary punishment to evil-doers was shown in such wall paintings whereas the good were shown to be enjoying the privilege of Heaven. Thus, the religious and ethical teaching was implicit in these frescos as the majority of the people who congregated at these places was unlettered. But, as soon as they were educated, they became self-conscious, logical, rational, basing all their philosophies of life on purely scientific foundations. Today the wall paintings are just a visual document of our cultural heritage, of the history of the society in which it was born.

(b) MINIATURES

Along with the development of mural painting, miniature painting also flourished in both the parts of Punjab, i.e. trans-Sutlej as well as cis-Sutlej regions under the patronage of the rulers. The painters also enjoyed the munificence of the propertied class as well as the landed aristocracy. It would be interesting to record here that every chieftain (big or small) had his portrait done. Their discendants were proud of these mementos of their ancestors. But is an irony of fate that the fine pieces of miniatures, which once formed the cherished collection of the original patrons, are being sold in curio shops in Delhi or exported to foreign countries.

Miniature painting in Punjab had its parallel growth and decline with fresco painting. It was born here from seedlings which came from outside, yet the entire nourishment and care was done by the people of Punjab—whethert hey were princes or other wealthy section of the society. Undoubtedly, the artists

who had migrated from the neighbouring areas but the whole gamut of painting derived its inspiration from the heart and soul of Punjab. Trans-Sutlej region has always got widest publicity from the historigraphers of Indian art, but the art of Cis-Sutlej region was never adequately mentioned. The causes for this neglect are many, viz, (1) to give utmost fillip to the activities of the Lahore Darbar whether out of sychophancy, loyalty or fear; (2) to simply please British masters who perhaps might not have considered it appropriate to exhibit the grandeur of neighbouring princes lest it might incur the displeasure or wrath of Ranjit Singh whose intentions were always unpredictable; (3) to balkanise the regions forever to shore up supremacy of British India in the courts of these princely states as also in British circles in Delhi. Hence, the present study attempts to focus on the development of miniature painting in both the regions in a balanced manner so that no region suffers at the cost of other.

Prominent centres of miniature painting developed specially in Lahore, Amritsar, Patiala, Kapurthala, Jind, Nabha, etc. The ruling chiefs of these states patronised miniature painting during the nineteenth century in the fashion of Mughal emperors who maintained well-trained indigenous as well as Herati and Shirazi artists' ateliers in their courts. It should be emphasised that Lahore being a famous cultural centre from the Ghaznavid and Mughal times had its own artists, *naqqashas*, calligraphists, architects and masons of high eminence. As such they brought or attracted gifted artists to their courts to make portraits and decorate palaces, forts and pavilions, *havelis*, etc. These artists migrated to Punjab plains from diverse directions in search of new patrons and thus spreading the style of painting. Delhi and Western Himalayas were also the main suppliers of artists to Punjab. Rajasthan and Avadh also took pride in sending artists to this region. Obviously, these artists brought with them the traditions which were so popular and also earned national and international fame in the world of arts. Tragically, the fall of the Delhi Durbar led to the dispersal of most talented artists to several parts of India. Punjab and Western Himalayas also got their share of these.

Dr Anand Coomaraswamy,[48] Percy Brown,[49] and S.N. Dasgupta,[50] were the first to notice these miniatures in the markets of Amritsar and Lahore in the second quarter of twentieth century, then Dr Mulk Raj Anand,[51] Dr W.G. Archer,[52] Dr M.S. Randhawa,[53] Dr B.N. Goswamy[54] threw further light in the third quarter of this century. Although these writers have creditably presented the growth of miniature painting in Punjab, their treatment certainly lacks fuller survey of all the sub-centres of both the parts of Punjab with special reference to the work done in Phulkian states[55] which has altogether been left out of scholarly discussion.

The miniature painting style that developed in Punjab was neither the prototype of pure Pahari, nor perfect Mughal which existed in the late Mughal era at Delhi, nor properly Awadhi that flourished at Lucknow which had some influence of Western painting. It was a sort of eclectic style standing in its own right characterising its own Punjabi manifestations—of course, reflecting colour scheme and ornamentation of the parental stock which only the astute connoisseur of art could notice. External influences also percolated from Himachal Pradesh. In fact, when Ranjit Singh defeated Sansar Chand of Kangra in 1808 most of his artists sought protection in the court of the former. Faqir Sayeed Wahid-u-din,[56] the great grandson of Faqir Aziz-ud-din, Minister of Ranjit Singh, has emphatically stated that the Maharaja gave equal patronage to fine arts and that famous artists like Kehar Singh, Mohd Bakhsh and Purkhu of Kangra worked at his court. This is the most convincing documentary evidence coming from the pen of a highly responsible person whose ancestors held high positions in the Sikh court. The present writer also exchanged quite a few letters with Faqir Sayeed Mughis-ud-din,[57] cousin of the above quoted writer on the subject of these paintings but could not get further details due to strained relations between Pakistan and India.

Ranjit Singh was a man of varied tastes and catholic interests. He regarded the qualities of each individual of his government as the most valuable asset and was never swayed by communal considerations. Hence, courtiers, ministers and other officials were drawn from among the best in all the communities of India. Nay, even foreigners were given top appointments in his army to train troops on modern lines.

His personality was reflected in the several portraits painted by court artists like Kehar Singh and

others. Apart from royal portraits (Plates 52, 53, 64), chief interest of artists was in court scenes, portraits of Europeans then staying in Lahore, Amritsar and other places. Special mention should also be made of the matchless portraits of Sikh Gurus (Plates 83, 85). Indeed, the calm serenity of atmosphere and lyrical linear costume of figures are par excellence. These were painted under the influence of Sikh control over Kangra, but the Pahari effect is all pervading and this tradition continued even at Lahore, Amritsar, Patiala and Kapurthala. Some scholars have christened the work thus done in Punjab plains as Sikh paintings. There is another school of thought which is not prepared to accept this view. But, on the analogy of Mughal and Rajasthani and Deccan styles, there is no harm if this style of miniature is designated as "Sikh School of Painting". When Mughal painting developed, it received stimulus from several schools of art, viz, Rajasthan, Iranian, Mongolian and European. If these multiple and diverse influences (both indigenous and foreign) taken together can be called Mughal, why not the miniature painting which took its birth in Punjab be called Sikh painting?

Sikh traditional themes were drawn and painted in abundance. Portraites of Nihangs, Punjabi women jugglers, Punjabi women cooking bread; portrait of Giani Gurmukh Singh (Plate 48), portraits of Moran Sarkar (Plate 65), royal princes i.e., Sher Singh (Plate 89), Kharak Singh (Plate 52), queens, and other generals are noteworthy. A significant collection of these miniatures is available in Government Museum, Chandigarh, for study and research purposes. There are quite a few unfinished drawings and sketches in this museum which throw much light on the stages of development of the style. A notable feature of this style was the existence of European artists[58] in Punjab, who made their presence felt in the work produced by local artists in the latter part of nineteenth century (Plate 70). But European painting did not become a dominant influence on indigenous art, it played the role of a fellow-traveller.

A considerable number of miniature paintings representing the Sikh nobility had taken away to England when Punjab was annexed by the British in 1849. Moreover, a large number of costly items were collected and sent to England by the rapacious officers of the British Government.[59] Even the famous *Toshakhana* of Lahore Durbar was not spared in this loot.

After the death of Ranjit Singh the Sikh school of art met the same fate as the Mughal school after the 1857 revolt. Luckily for the Punjab school Ranjit Singh's sons continued the royal patronage. Dr John Login makes the following astounding remarks about Duleep Singh:[60]

> The little Maharaja has been collecting for me drawing and paintings done by his best painters. Some are very curious and interesting indeed, representing domestic life in the Punjab, and various trades and professions. He also selected authentic likeness of the great chiefs and men of note.

The artists started sought refuge with the landed aristocracy and businessmen or started making crude type of sets postcards for the new masters who were either military officers or other high dignitaries. Some of them migrated to Amritsar, Kapurthala and Patiala, where they did high quality of miniature painting for royal patrons. These artists painted individual portraits of the Patiala ruler. Narinder Singh[61] (1845-62) (Plates 46-47, 60) in whose time art, music and poetry and architecture developed to a very high pitch of glory and grandeur. It was here that Rajasthani, Pahari and Avadhi painting developed into a most sophisticated style, later known as Patiala School of Painting—a harmonious blending of all the three distinct styles. The emergence of an entirely new diction was recognised and acknowledged everywhere as Patiala painting—a cradle of Phulkian art and culture from where it spread to other parts of Phulkian region.

These artists were not only miniature painters but simultaneously fresco painters of a high order. They were deft builders and skilled artisans as also hereditary carvers as is evident from the windows, wooden decorative ceilings and other balustrades and architraves, etc. The primary material which have been used in preparation of ground for frescos at Patiala Sheesh Mahal Palace and Qila Androon prove that this was borrowed from Rajasthan.

These were funny and interesting people indeed. They were not dull and prosaic artists but enjoyed the work they were doing. While they were resting after work they used to draw each other's portrait

sketches with inscriptions.[62] This material along with other detailed information about artists' family and their genealogy was made available by Ramji Dass, a flourmill owner near Bakshi Bir Singh School (adjacent to Shiv Mandi, Patiala). The efforts of government of Punjab in preserving the cultural and artistic heritage of this town are highly commendable. Special mention must be made of Prof. S.S. Talwar, of the Department of Museums and Archaeology, who took great pains to have the palaces and historic monuments of this place declared as protected monuments.

After Patiala come Kapurthala and Sangrur where the art of miniature painting developed. Some important sets of *Ragamala* and *Rukmani* were painted in Kapurthala in Pahari style. It appears that artists from outside were so much in demand for decoration and making portraits of the princes, that they found it difficult to fulfil the commitments already in hand. There were cases where preliminary drawings and sketches were prepared by the artists but never completed. Sangrur, another clan-state of Phulkian region, contributed much to the development of miniature painting during the reigns of Ranbir Singh (Plate 67), Gajpat Singh (Plate 69) etc. The individual royal portraits with their magnificent charm and elegant facial expression are highly artistic. Apart from the miniature painting, fresco painting was also done in this region specially in Barnala, Handayaya etc., in temples and *gurudwaras* as also in the personal residences of big businessmen.

Painting penetrated the Nabha princely town where the ruling chiefs extended great patronage to art. Miniature painting had its heyday in Nabha during the periods of Jaswant Singh (Plate 56), his son Devinder Singh (Plate 57) and his successor Bharpur Singh (Plate 59) who was a linguist as well as a lover of painting. He was himself a good artist.[63] But the style and technique are not comparable with the excellence and perfection achieved at the Patiala and Lahore centres. There is clear evidence of the artists having worked at both Patiala and Nabha. The entire building, activity, architectural planning, decoration work, painting the frescos, preparing miniatures were done by the people hailing from Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Delhi and Avadh (Lucknow) areas. The buildings, both royal and private, bear the pure Rajasthani idiom and diction. *Gurudwaras* in the close proximity of the old Moti Bagh Palace (now known as National Institute of Sports) exude the fragrance and colour of Rajasthani architecture.

Not only that big rajas were interested in self-glorification through the medium of miniature painting, even a small sardar like Ladva chief Ajit Singh had his portrait painted.[64] Then still further away, the rulers of Nalagarh, a semi-hilly state, who had family relations with the Patiala Maharaja, patronised art of miniature painting in their regime. Excellent specimens have come to light of the Pahari-cum-popular style of painting developed there, especially on Vaishanavite themes.[65] In all this artistic achievement the one factor that stands out is that what lies at the root is the aesthetic taste of the patrons, the religious tolerance of the rulers, the cosmopolitan and catholicity of temperament of the princely order which saw development of miniature painting in the nineteenth-century Cis-Sutlej region.[66]

(c) MANUSCRIPTS

The tradition of illustrated manuscripts in India is very old. Dr Hiranand Shastri[67] has established its antiquity in the first century A.D. when the famous Jain writer Bhadrabahu authored the *Kalpasutra*. He was the contemporary of Maurayan emperor Chandragupta. Before the advent of printing technology in India almost all reading material, official and court transactions were recorded in the hand written manuscripts in the language of the region. History has bequeathed to us a rich legacy of illuminated manuscripts in Sanskrit, Gujarati, Apabhramsa, Tibetan, Persian, Hindi, Punjabi, Urdu, Arabic, Pali, Prakrit, Brahmi, etc., leaving aside illustrated manuscripts of Latin, Greek and other Germanic and Slavic languages. The earliest known manuscripts which have come down to us date back to first century A.D. discovered by the German explorers.[68] These are being restored at the Goettingen University under the supervision of Prof (Dr) Heinz Bechert, Head of the Department of Indology and Buddhist Studies, in fascimile edition. In the ancient period manuscripts were sent to China, Japan and Tibet for the propagation of Buddhist religion in the second and third centuries before Christ through preachers, monks and other tourists.[69] Fa-hsian, the famous Chinese monk who came to learn more

about Buddhism, returned to China with twenty horses loaded with valuable sculptures and seven hundred manuscripts.[70] From the fifth to seventh centuries the times were ripe for the rise of national culture which saw its culmination in the classic age of Gupta empire when philosophy, religion, sciences, poetry and fine arts were not only patronised but manuscripts on these subjects were written in abundance. It was during this period that the Nalanda Maha-Vihar was established and there were lakhs of manuscripts preserved in the library for the use of scholars. Odaintipur and Vikramsila vihar manuscript libraries also flourished during this period but the advent and onslaught of invaders these *mutts* were razed to the ground and libraries set ablaze. Remaining manuscripts made their way to Nepal which are still safe in the royal library due to congenial climatic conditions.

From 1010 to 1055 Paramar king Bhoja's library was the treasurehouse of knowledge. Astronomical sciences had a great tradition at this place. But after the conquest of Malwa in 1140 Chaulukyan prince Sidharaj Jai Singh took the library containing rare manuscripts to his own kingdom. During the medieval period Muslim rulers were very fond of maintaining libraries. Feroze Shah Tughlaq ordered to be brought four thousand manuscripts from Jwalamukhi Bhandar. Some of these were translated into Arabic and Persian languages.[71]

Apart from this, the people of Gujarat led the country in the preparation of illustrated manuscripts like *Chaurapanchsika* and *Laurchanda*. There are hundreds of Jain bhandars all over India which contain prestigious manuscript collection on the different aspects of Jain philosophy, religion, literature, art, astronomy, etc.

Jain manuscripts of the fourteenth century and Vaishnavite manuscripts reached the Berlin State Library in the nineteenth century through Sir Robert Chambers and George Buhler. The number exceeds four thousands. They relate to *Mahabharata*, *Devimahatma*, Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa*, *Bhagavadgita*, in Sanskrit, Hindi and Apabhramsa languages. Most of these reveal painstaking work by the scribes and often include miniatures.[72]

Mughal emperor Akbar was a keen and devout lover of manuscripts. His royal library possessed some 24,000 manuscripts mostly illustrated. Akbar got this work on a sound scientific basis, i.e. erudite scholars were engaged to guide the writing of manuscripts, deft calligraphists, who at the same time were artists, were employed to prepare the manuscripts for the royal library in Sanskrit, Hindi and Arabic languages. There was a separate section devoted to Greek language. This imperial library was scattered after Akbar's death: it was distributed between the libraries of Nawab of Lucknow (U.P.), Nawab of Rampur (U.P.) and Bankipur, Khan Bahadur Khuda Baksh of Patna.

Sir William Jones established the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784. This Society, apart from promoting the cause of archaeological excavations in India, encouraged the search for manuscripts throughout India. The India Office Library in London published a *catalogus* with the scholarly assistance of Keilhorn, Buhler, Peterson, R.G. Bhandarkar, Burnel, Mckenzie, Colebroke and Gaikwad. The Madras University is issuing its revised edition. It is based on the most systematic method of documentation prevalent in Western countries, i.e. name of the manuscript, author of the manuscripts, scope of manuscripts, script, period of writing, period of script, state of manuscript.

In 1868 Pandit Radhakrishan of Lahore made efforts to start organisations with the help of the Government of India to collect manuscripts in India. Since then many organisations have been engaged in the collection of manuscripts, viz, Nagari Pracharani Sabha, Varanasi; Sarswati Bhavan, Varanasi; Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona; Shri Shardul Research Institute and Jain Granthalaya, Bikaner; Scindia Research Institute, Ujjain; Bihar Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Patna; Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras; Adyar Library, Madras; Prachi Vidya Samsthan, Madras; Madras University, Madras; Vedic Research Samsthan, Hoshiarpur; Research Institute, Udaipur; Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna; Puratan Mandir and Pothi Khana, Jaipur; Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi; Museum of Maharaja Balrampur (U.P.); Raza Imperial Library, Rampur; Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad (U.P.); Raja Kameshwar Prasad Singh Library, Darbhanga (Bihar).

Muni Shri Punyavijayji of Pattan (Gujarat), a specialist in ancient Indian manuscripts, has stated that *Pattan*, *Khambhat* and *Jaisalmer* occupy the first place in the history of manuscript preservation in

the country.[73] The Jaisalmer collection contains illustrated *patts* and illustrations which are available nowhere else in the country.[74] There are almost 500 cities, towns and villages which possess Jain scripture manuscripts. Birchbark manuscripts according to Muni Shri Punyavijayji are three thousand, and this figure goes up to two lakhs if paper manuscripts are included. If we add the personal collection of all the sects of Jain bhandars, then, of course, it touches the maximum limit of fifteen lakhs.[75] As stated earlier, all government transactions were effected in handwritten documents, hence all royal *firmans* (decrees) were prepared in manuscript form. Punjab during ancient, Muslim, then Mughal, and finally under Ranjit Singh witnessed all types of administration. Administrative orders, social and cultural life were recorded in the manuscripts. Life of Gurus (Plate 71), histories of emperors and imperial exploits were documented in manuscripts. Most of these manuscripts were written in Persian (Plates 76-77), the court language of the medieval Punjab until the time of Ranjit Singh. Hindi and Punjabi (in Gurmukhi as well as Persian script) were also used in manuscripts.

It will not be out of place to state here that the work of manuscript illustration achieved a great distinction in the Lahore Durbar which patronised an atelier of artists like the Mughal emperors. In fact, the artists and calligraphers who were formerly associated with Mughal court at Lahore and Delhi were active in the times of Ranjit Singh, creating beautiful manuscripts depicting the historical themes,[76] and, these were held in high esteem.[77] Most prominent manuscripts illustrated which belong to the nineteenth century and have come down to us are: *Gulgashat-i-Punjab* (M/790) *Katha-Satyugki* (M/675), *Shirin Ferhad* (M/486), *Mahabharat* (M/431), *Bhagwat Puran* (M/1679), *Pothi-Gurbani* (M/2547 CPL), *Shiv Puran* (1683 CPL), *Bhagwat Puran*, Pbi (02765), *Panch-Ratni* (Skt) (M/143), *Iqbal Nama Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (M/649, PAP), *Ranjit Singh Nama* (M/983, PAP), *Sher Singh Nama* (M/327 PAP) *Tawarikh-e-Kashmir* (M/829 PAP), *Zafar Nama* (M/824 PAP), *Bani Guru Sahiban* (M/468, PAP), *Shirin Ferhad* (M/615 PAP).[78]

During the same period the Patiala Durbar gave protection to several artists from Hills, Rajasthan and Delhi who prepared unique *Ramayana*, *Mahabharata*, *Janam Sakhis*, *Bihari Sat Sai*, etc., which are the prestigious collection of the erstwhile Maharaja of Patiala, Capt. Amarinder Singh.[79] Apart from the official documents, religious manuscripts were also executed. These relate to the life and teachings of Guru Nanak (1469-1529) first Guru of the Sikhs. These are known as *Janam Sakhis*, written by various authors. Quite a few have been illustrated. One such was photographed by the generous permission of Prof Pritam Singh, Head of the Department of Guru Nanak Dev Studies, G.N. Dev University, Amritsar (Plates 71-72), Guru Nanak was a contemporary of the Mughal emperor Baber. Manuscripts of Vaishnavite and other philosophies were also illustrated in manuscripts, viz, *Vishnu Puran*, *Bhagwat Puran* as also *Shiv Puran* (Plates 77-78), *Bhagwad gita*, *Narinder Bhanu Parkash*, *Narinder Vibhuti Vilas*, *Narinder Neeti*, *Mahinder Prakash*, *Mahendra Parkash*, *Mahender Ashtak*,[80] *Ramayana* in Persian and *Stotra* in Persian.[81] *Military Manual of Ranjit Singh* has also been illustrated.

All these manuscripts, with exception of the last one, were decidedly written in the regime of Narinder Singh (1845-62) and his son Mohinder Singh (1862-76). The Patiala chief occupied the most distinguished position after Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) in the whole of the Punjab, especially the Cis-Sutlej region. It was here that the Patiala *Gharana* of Bade Ghulam Ali Khan and Bide Khan developed its music style. Poets and scholars like Bhai Giani Kahn Singh who compiled the unparalleled *Gur Shabd Ratnakar Mahankosh*, flourished here. To Patiala goes the credit of having produced first Punjabi typewriter. Even in the educational sphere it scored highest eminence in Punjab by starting the first degree college in the city—Mahindra College in 1875. Promotion of sports touched a new height during reigns of Rajinder Singh and Bhupinder Singh.

But so far as the development of artistic activity is concerned the entire credit goes to Narinder Singh who had a keen eye for painting and high aesthetic attitude towards all arts. He has been described as the generous donor for the development and beautification of the city of Patiala. The prestigious old Sheesh Mahal and Banarsi Bagh Baradari were constructed by him. It has no parallel amongst the artistically built palaces of the whole of North Indian princes. It was here that gifted artists, architects, masons and workers put their heart and soul to make it purely Rajasthani planned

town, drawing, to some extent, from Mughal garden landscaping. We should not fail to mention of Patiala Shahi *achkan*, *churidar* and quite a distinct *pugree* from all the *pugree* styles of other Indian states

The manuscripts illustrated and prepared in Punjab have made their way into far off places connected by the land route, as for example, Astrakhan in Central Asia. The person who took away these manuscripts is identified as Kripal Dass of Multan and Sikkar who had settled in Astrakhan and Bukhara. Then, ultimately, these were acquired by the Institute of Oriental Studies, Leningrad (USSR Academy of Sciences). These manuscripts are thirty-four in number, eighteen complete and fifteen incomplete. This interesting fact was reported by a Soviet scholar in 1973.[83] These deserve the special mention. *Gurbilas* (illustrated manuscript) contains a picture in which Guru Gobind Singh (1675-1708), the tenth and last Guru of the Sikhs, preparing to go for hunting. He was a warrior-saint; erudite scholar of Persian and Sanskrit; saviour of the downtrodden; liberator of oppressed classes; father of the "Khalsa Panth", who baptised the first five disciples (Sikhs) at Anandpur Sahib near Ropar and adjoining the territory of Himachal Pradesh. Others are *Puran Bhagat* by Qadir Yar; *Kissa Kamrup Kamlita*, *Heera Ranjha*, *Gopi Chand*, *Hanuman Natak*, *Bhagwad Gita*, *Vichar Mala*, *Singh Gaur Katha*, *Janam Sakhis*, etc.[84] How these manuscripts travelled from place to place in different parts of India, and in foreign countries, how these changed hands is a strange story. One such illustrated manuscript of Punjabi language written in Devanagri containing 120 illustrations is in possession of Aggar Chand Nahatta of Bikaner.[85] Yet another manuscript, *Bhagwat Puran* of eighteenth century, was noticed by Dr H. Goetz carrying illustrations especially of the camels.[86]

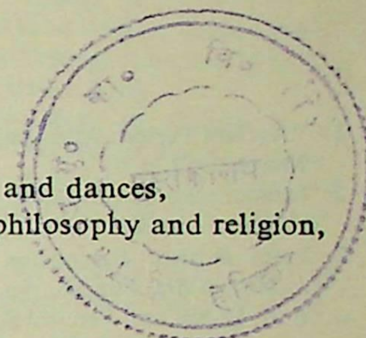
Manuscripts illustrated or otherwise have been preserved by public libraries, private collectors and religious institutions like *gaddis*, Pindori Dham in Gurdaspur district, Thakurdwara in Dhamatal also in the same district. A comprehensive survey, on the pattern of Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and Nagari Pracharani Sabha, Varanasi, was undertaken by Punjab Government Languages Department, Patiala,[87] in 1961 and 1963 to locate every possible information about manuscripts especially of Punjabi language in Punjab and in its neighbouring region. This obviously resulted in a two-volume well-documented descriptive catalogue of manuscripts on all subjects. Several noblemen, old zamindars and descendants of erstwhile princely order possess valuable collections of this rich cultural heritage even now. The Central Public Library, Patiala; Punjab State Archives, Patiala; Vaid Mohan Singh Collection in Punjabi University, Patiala; Bhai Kharak Singh Library at Ferozepur; Guru Nanak Dev University Library, Amritsar; Visheshwara Nand Research Library Collection at Hoshiarpu ; Kurukshetra University Library Collection, Kurukshetra, deserve special mention. The Punjabi Sahitya Akademi at Ludhiana also possesses a large number of manuscripts which add to the enrichment of the historical development of language and tend to give rise to the flowering of Punjabi literature.

The principal motive behind all this artistic activity of getting the manuscripts illustrated in Punjab has been the same as those of Mughal and Rajput rulers. It was to glorify the prince among the educated elite and to perpetuate his memory. Another purpose might have been as a source of pleasure different from the rest of people. But, whatever, might have been the real motive, one thing we have gained is that these manuscripts are an authentic source of the style and mode of living, the general appearance of buildings and temples, the social customs and the fashions in vogue in those past days. They give a clear view of the cultural history of Punjab in its proper perspective, which, perhaps otherwise would have never been possible.

These manuscripts cover a wide variety of fields and their several branches. These have touched almost all disciplines of human activity. They may be classified as (1) Palm-leaf manuscripts, (2) paper manuscripts, and (3) cloth manuscripts. All sorts of knowledge is available from these sources provided one is fully equipped with the knowledge of the language in which the manuscript is written. But, these days the language obstacle can be overcome with the help of pandits, maulvis and readers of the particular language concerned. This list of main subjects covered by these manuscripts are stated below:

Subjects Dealt with in Manuscripts

1. *Agam* and *Sidhant* Literature,
2. The *Angas* and *Upangas*,
3. The *Painnas*,
4. *Sheda Sutras*,
5. Four *Mula Sutras*,
6. Puranic literature,
7. Sanskrit Puranas,
8. Apabhramsa Puranas,
9. Hindi Puranas,
10. Prakrit poetry,
11. Apabhramsa poetry,
12. *Carita* literature,
13. *Carita* literature in Prakrit and Apabhramsa,
14. *Carita* literature in Hindi,
15. *Rasa* literature in Hindi,
16. *Adhyatma* literature,
17. Sanskrit works,
18. Prakrit and Apabhramsa works,
19. Literature of Jain philosophy,
20. Short stories,
21. *Subhasita* and *Nitisastra*,
22. Jyotisa literature,
23. Grammar,
24. Drama,
25. Ayurvedi works,
26. *Chand Sastra*,
27. Lexicography,
28. *Stotra* literature,
29. Sexology,
30. Literature on songs and dances,
31. Literature on Sikh philosophy and religion,
32. Histories,
33. Biographies,
34. Family histories,
35. Travelogues,
36. *Janam Sakhis*,
37. *Silpa-Sastras* and *Vastu-Sastra*,
38. Military manuals,
39. Royal panegyrics and sycophancies.



Thus, it may safely be concluded that manuscript illustration which developed as a distinct form of painting in Punjab with the help of the external influences duly mingled and fused with the local genre and style which flourished in Punjab and its neighbouring states.

Significance of Manuscripts

It will not be out of place to mention here that manuscripts preserve our entire cultural heritage, second only to sculptural wealth, coins, land-grant copper plates and other archaeological evidences on which we can reconstruct our hoary antiquity. Hence, the historical and cultural importance of these illustrated manuscripts cannot be over-emphasised. Literature of the ancient period as also of the medieval period is treasured up in these manuscripts. Among those who have delved into this literature are learned university scholars like Dr V. Raghavan (Madras), Dr R.N. Dandekar (Poona), Dr U.P. Shah and Dr A.N. Jani (Baroda), Dr Anant Lal Thakur (Patna) and Dr Lokesh Chandra (Delhi). Dr Lokesh Chandra whose father the late Dr Raghubir had brought several tons of manuscripts from Mongolia, China and Japan, is bringing out excellent books on these ancient manuscripts. Important aspect of these centres of manuscript collection is that they have become the centres of educational research. Great significance is attached to Dr Ganda Singh[88] of Patiala who has made some valuable contribution to the history of Punjab purely on the basis of manuscripts. Similarly, Alice Boner, Sadasiva Rath Sarma and R.P. Das[89] have jointly discovered an original manuscript shedding light on theories and principles of Sun Temple of Konarak. Likewise, P.O. Sompura[90] a traditional temple architect, has rebuilt the Somnath temple on the basis of *Vastu-Sastra* relating to temple architecture which he inherited from his ancestors who had been famous architects and temple-builders from tenth century A.D. until today. Dr U.P. Shah's contribution in this field is unrivalled.[91] Similarly, hundreds of examples can be given in support of our hypothesis that manuscripts (illustrated as well as unillustrated) played a significant role in preserving and propagating the art and cultural heritage of this land. They mirror the social, emotional and cultural ethos of man.

The greatest benefit which the present survey has been able to achieve is the acquisition of know-

ledge of different stages of development of manuscript illustration in Punjab plains at different centres along with phased programme of miniature painting in the nineteenth century. Irrespective of the factor of patronage and source of inspiration for the growth and development of facets of painting in miniatures as well as in manuscripts, the fact remains that Punjab did contribute something tangible to the national stream of Indian painting which can never be denied.

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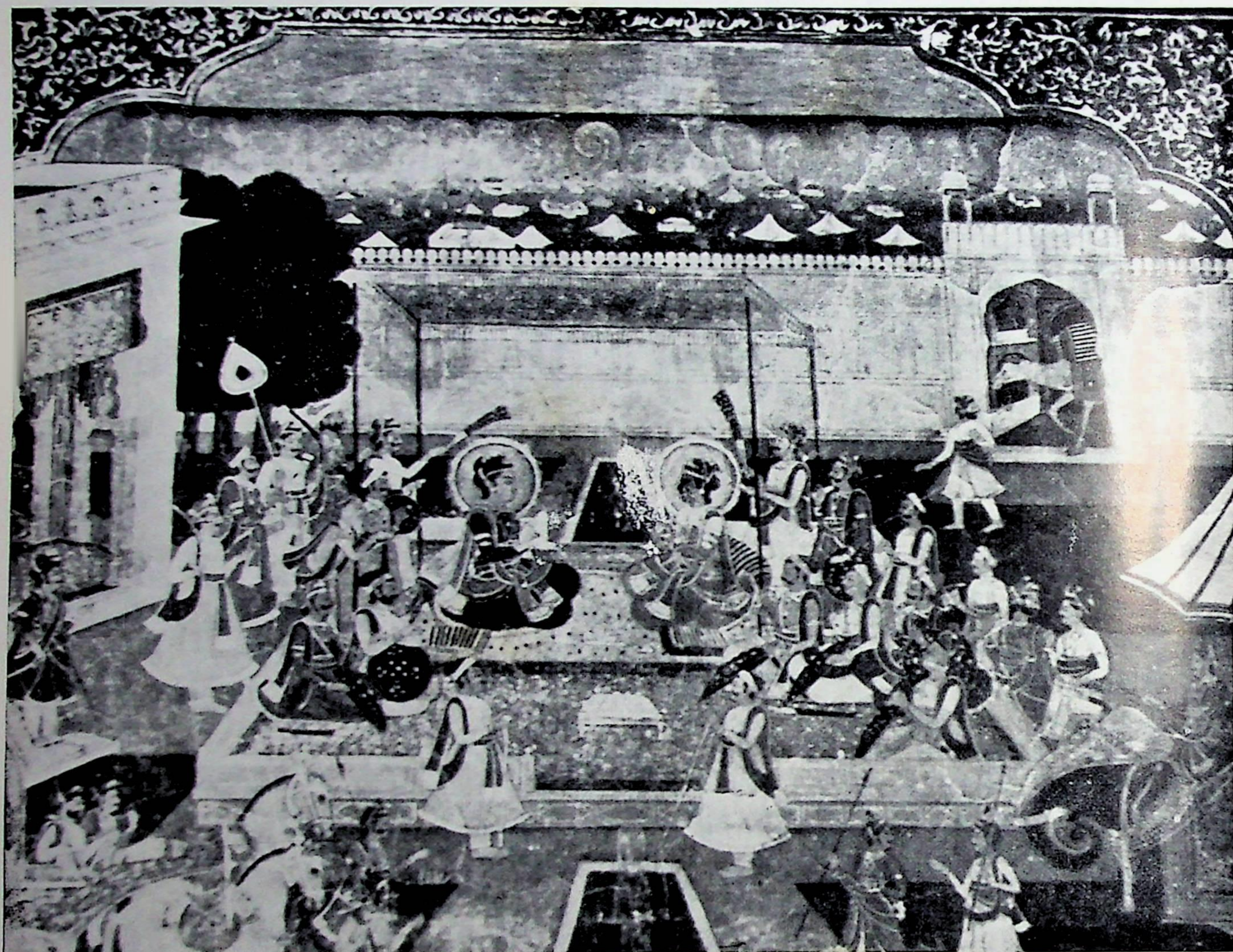
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74. Dr Kastur Chand Kasliwal, *Jain Granth Bhandars [in Rajasthan* (Jaipur: Mahavir Bhavan, 1967), p. 369, mentions Dr Bhagwan Das's survey in 1939.
75. See Appendix C for an inventory of manuscript sources in India.
76. Dr M. Abdullah Chughatai, *A Century of Painting in Punjab* (Lahore: Kitab Khana Nauras, 1961), pp. 35-36.
77. Rai Bahadur Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-e-Lahore* (Lahore: Victoria Press, 1884), p. 51.
78. These manuscripts are available in Government Archives, Patiala; and Central Public Library, Patiala.
79. See Appendix D.
80. Punjab Government Archives, Patiala (1) Acc. No. M/676, *Mahendra Prakash* by Ditta Mal, (2) M/696, *Mahendra Prakash* by Ganga Ram, (3) M/697 *Mahendra Ashtak*, (4) M/698, *Narendra Neeti* by Brahm Bhatt, (5) M/700, *Narendra Vibhuti Vilas*, (6) 7/70, *Narendra Bhanu Parkash*.
81. The last but two manuscripts are in the collection of Sheesh Mahal Art Gallery, Old Moti Bagh Palace, Patiala.
82. This manuscript is now in Government Museum, Amritsar.
83. G.A. Zograf, "Rare Gurmukhi Manuscripts", in *The Sunday Tribune*, 29 July 1973.
84. "Sikh Religious Books Found in Russia", in *The Tribune*, 13 April 1973.
85. Aggar Chand Nahatta, "Hindi Granthon ki Sachitra Lipian", in *Akriti* (Hindi Qarterly), Vol. 6, No. 2, October 1972, Jaipur (Rajasthan: Lalitkala Akademi), p. 17.

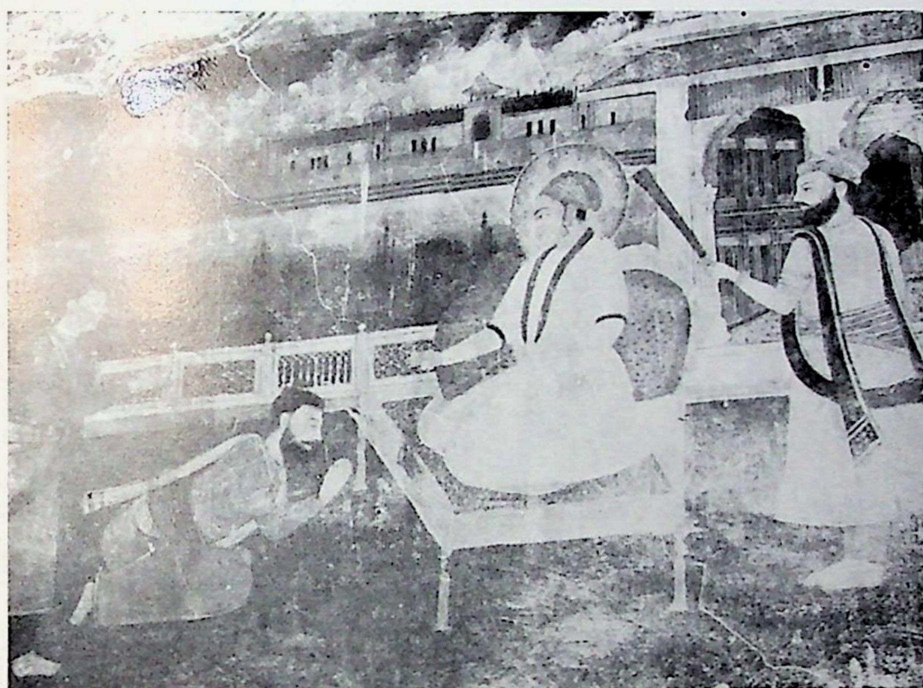
86. Dr Herman Goetz, "The Animal in Indian Art", in *German Scholars on India*, edited by Cultural Department of FRG, Vol. I, 1973 (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series), p. 83.
87. Punjab Languages Department, *Punjabi Hath-Likhtan di Suchi* (Punjabi), Vol. I (1961) and Vol. II (1963), Patiala.
88. Dr Ganda Singh, *The Sikhs and their Religion* (Redwood City, California 94064 (PO Box 737), (USA).
89. Alice Boner, Sadasiva R. Sarma and R.P. Das, *New Light on the Sun Temple of Konarak* (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1972).
90. P.O. Sompura has written several books in collaboration with Prof M.A. Dhaky on Indian temple architecture based on aneient silpa-sastras, viz *Prasad-Tilak*, *Vastuvidya Vastusastra*, *Jayapraccha*—all in the Gaikwad Oriental Series, 1973-74 (Baroda: M.S. University Press).
91. Dr U.P. Shah, *Vairocaniya Laksana Sastra*, and *Jina Samhita of Ekasandri* in Gaikwad Oriental Series, 1973-74 (Baroda: M.S. University Press).



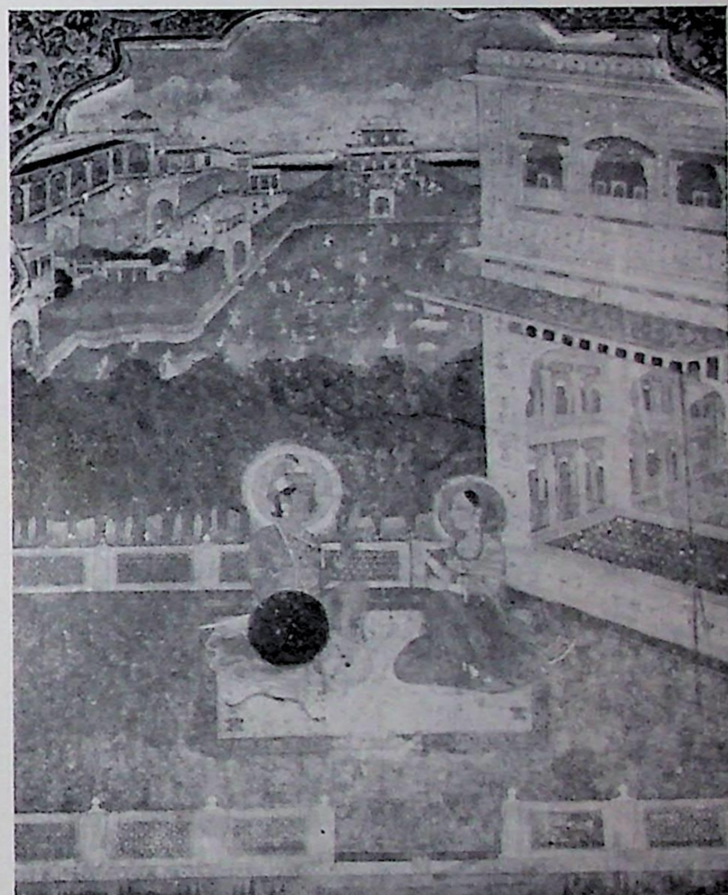
1. Ganpati Pujan with three planes, 19th century, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.



2. Royal princes in conversation, 19th century, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.



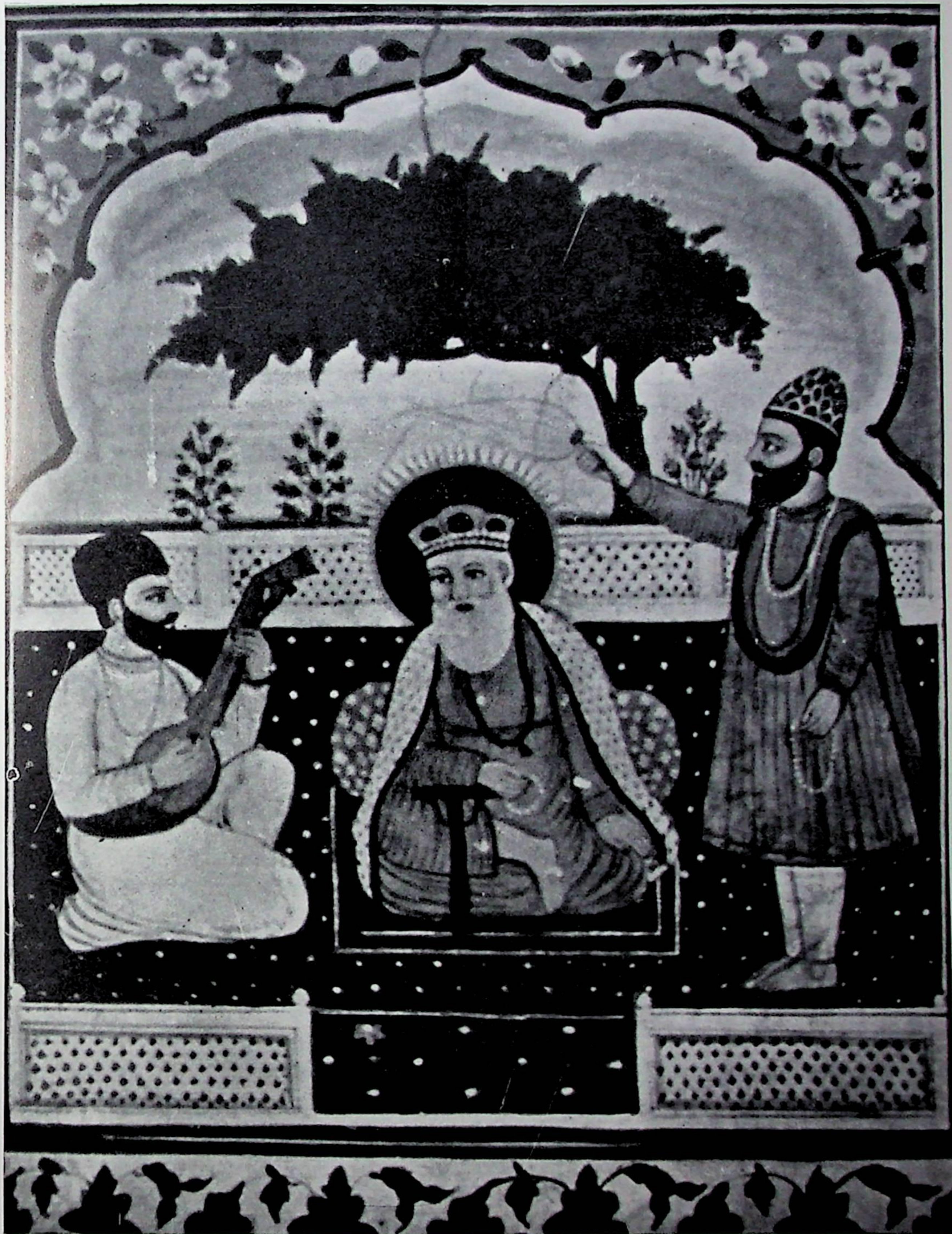
3. Guru Amar Dass, 19th century, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.



4. Radha and Krishna in conversation, 19th century, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.



5. Maharaja Ranjit Singh with three Dogra brothers, Temple of Bairagis, Ram Tatwali, District Hoshiarpur.



6. Guru Nanak with Bala and Mardana, Temple of Bairagis, Ram Tatwali, District Hoshiarpur.



7. Maharani Jindan of Ranjit Singh, Havili of Raja Sansi, District Amritsar.



8. Ram and Sita, Ram Tatwali, District Hoshiarpur.



9. Baba Sri Chand, Akhara Bala Nand, Amritsar.



10. Guru Gobind Singh (above) shown with Ram, Sita and Lakshman, Temple of Mai Rajja at Handiyaya, District Sangrur.



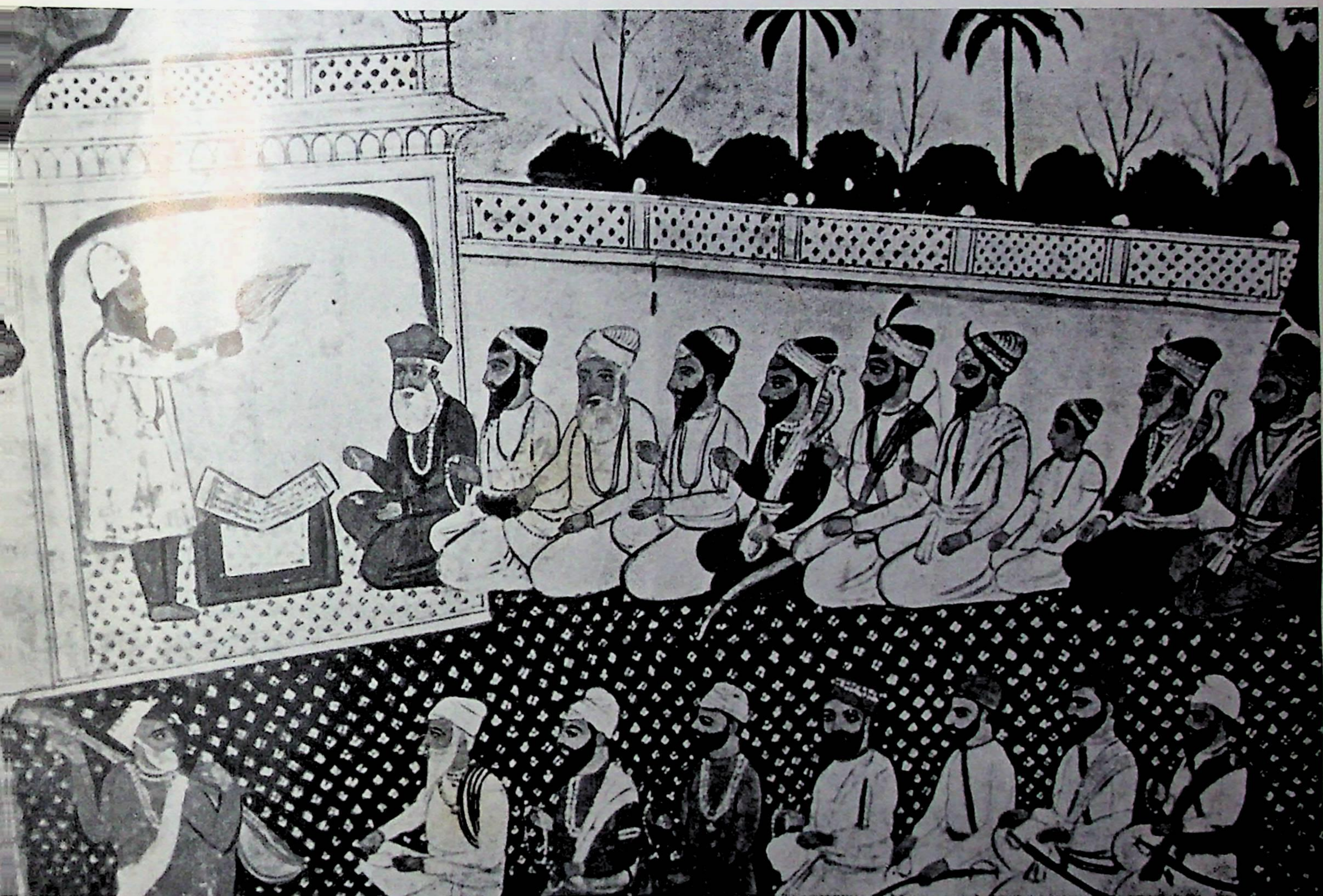
11. Samudra Manthan with Rattans, Temple of Bairagis, Ram Tatwali, District Hoshiarpur.



12. Four Mahants of Pindori Dham, Pindori, District Gurdaspur.



13. Guru Nanak (as a child) refuses to accept janeo on his body, Baba Atal, Amritsar.



14. Ten Gurus of Sikhs, Dera Nirmalan, Tanda, District Hoshiarpur.



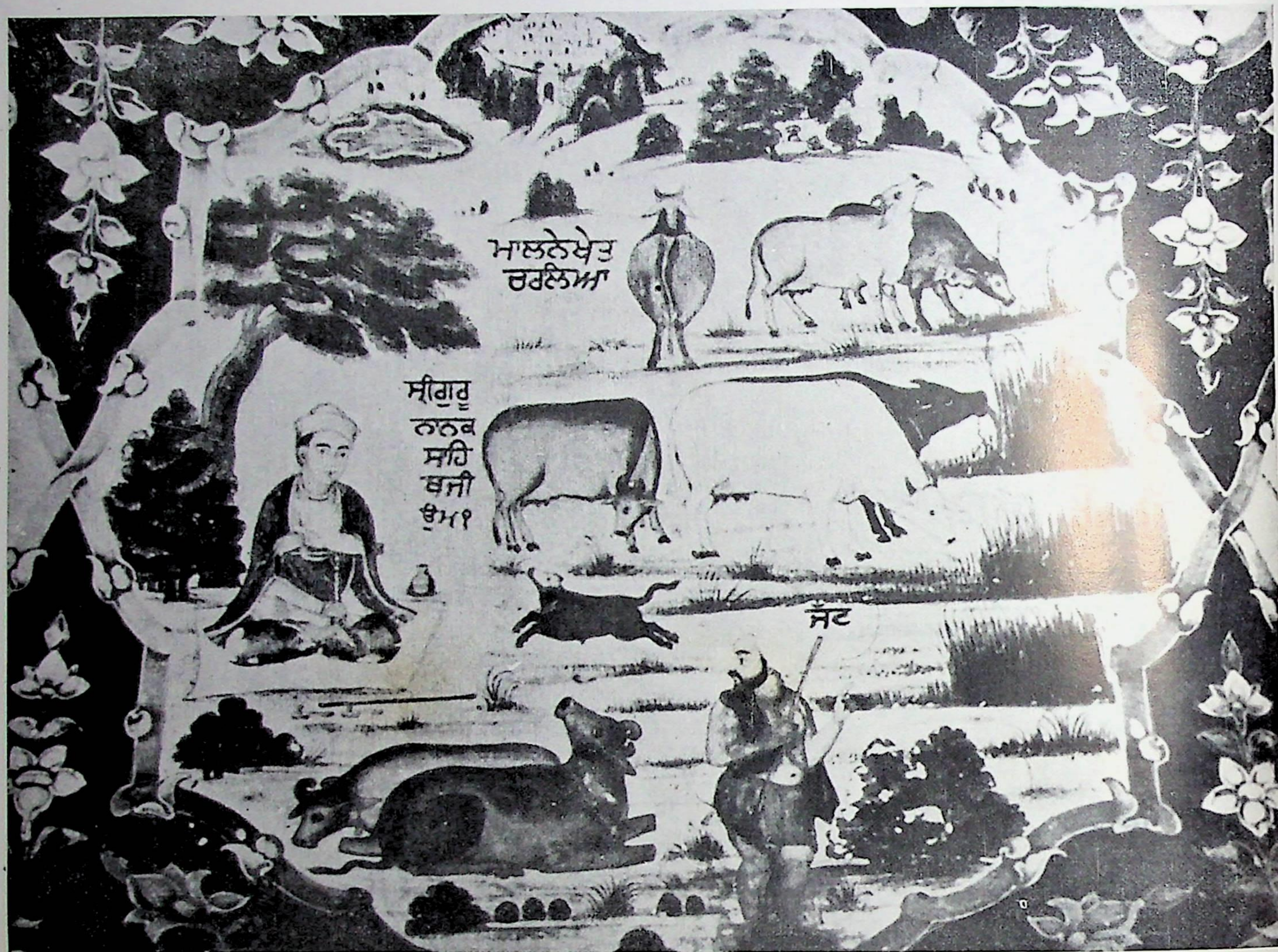
15. Bhim flinging elephants in the air, Samadh Baba Mohar Singh at Lopon, District Ludhiana.



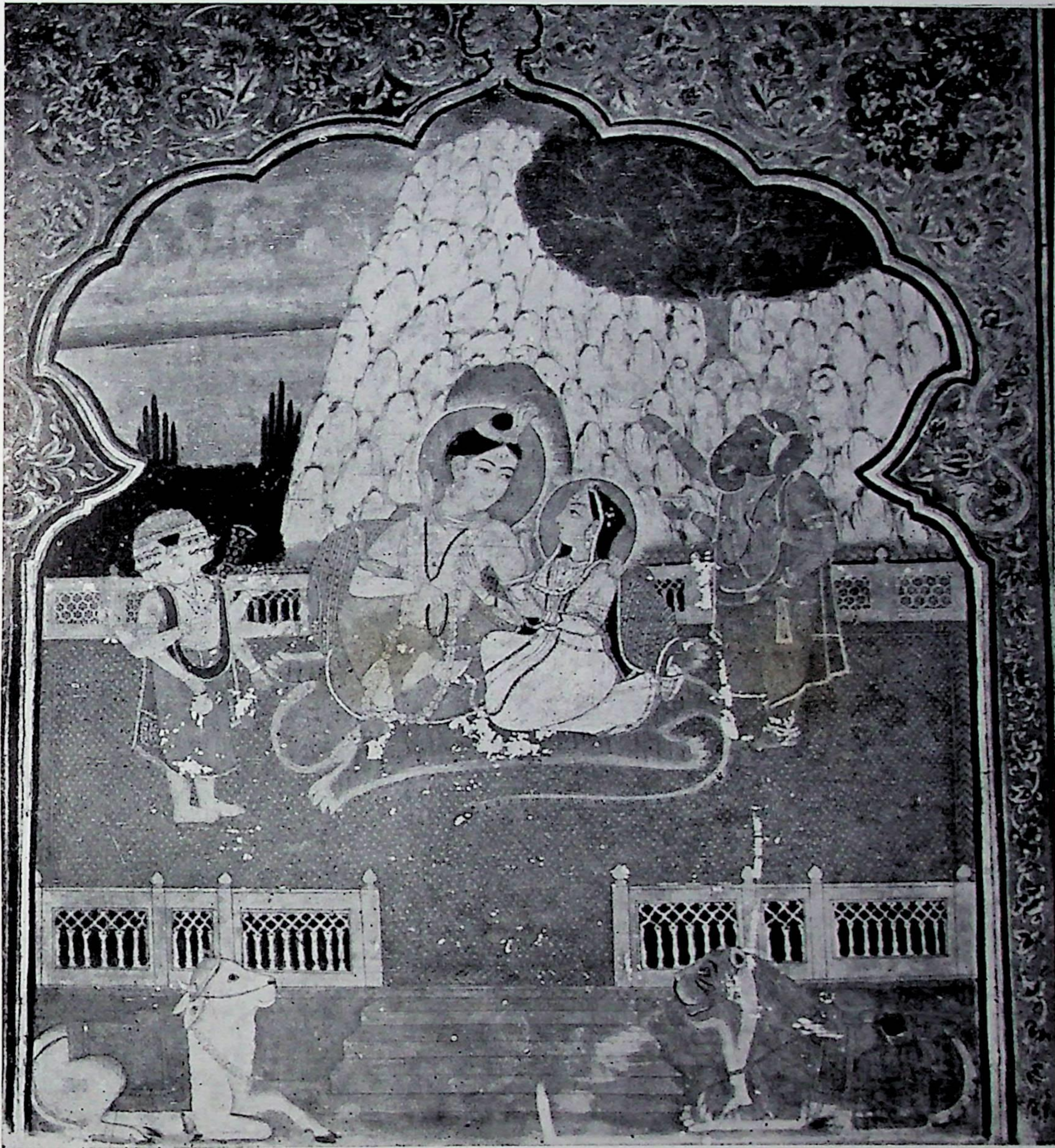
19. Radha-Krishna Milan (meeting) at the Sanketsthal, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.

16. Guru Gobind Singh on horse-back, from a wall painting. ↓





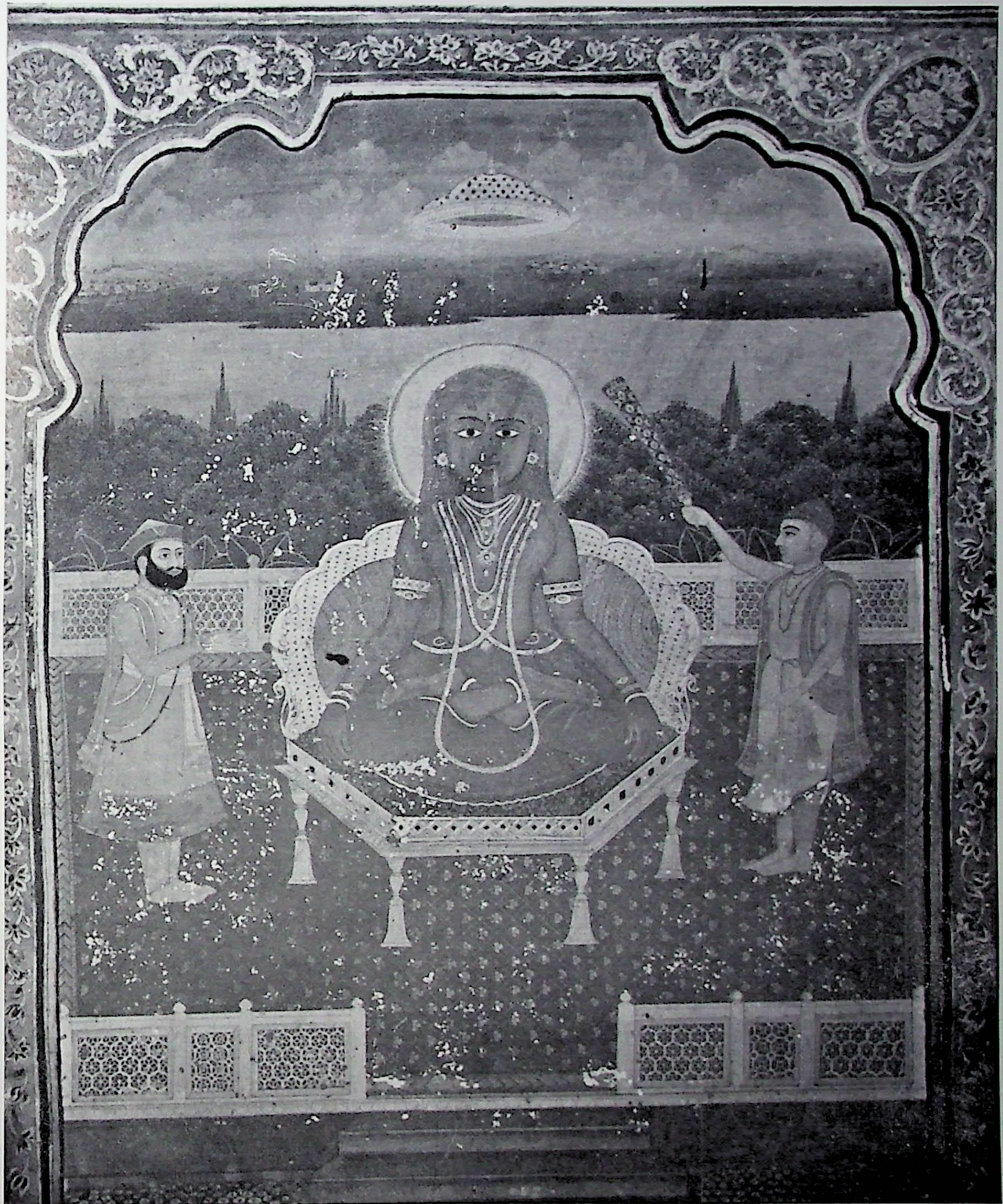
17. Guru Nanak in childhood grazing his cows: Fresco in Baba Atal Sahib, Amritsar.



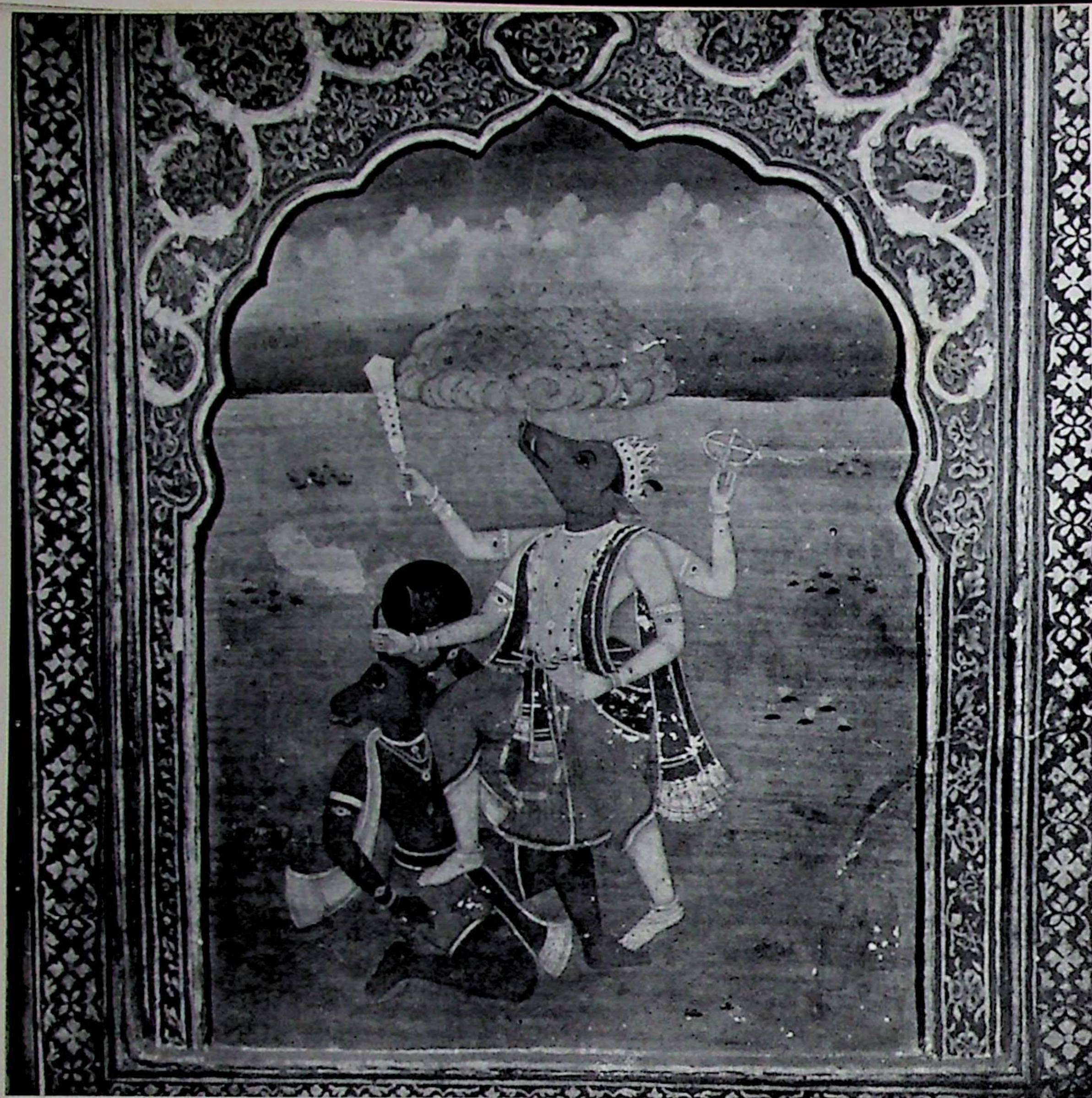
18. Shiva and Parvati with Ganapti and Kartikeya; Himalayas-Kailash, Nandi of Shiva and Parvati are also seen, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.



20. Vishnu and Lakshmi with Narad, Brahma, Indra and some other God or Rishi, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.

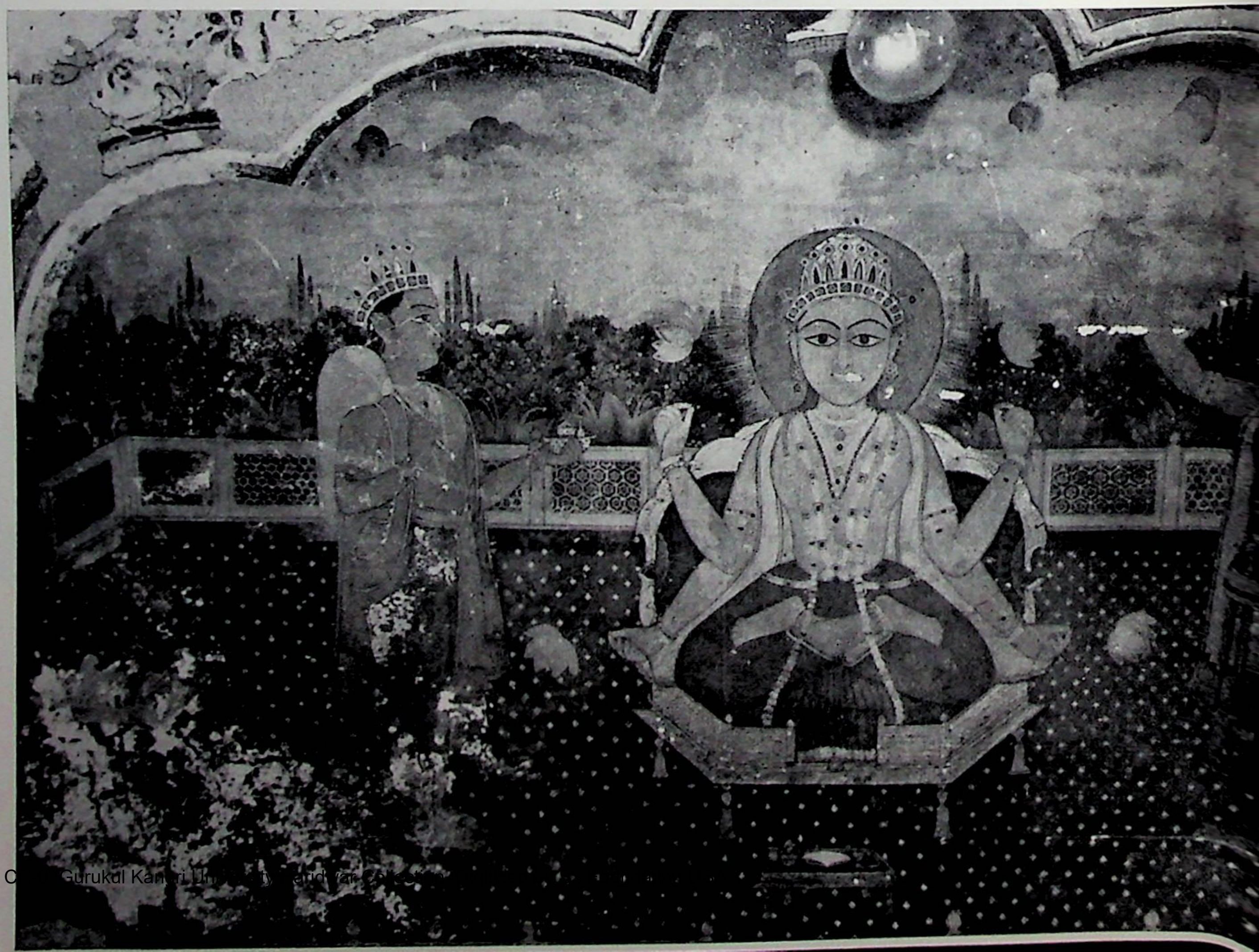


21. Some Goddess being worshipped by a king, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.



22. Vishnu in Varahavatar
(i.e. lifting the earth on his tusks
Qila Mubarak, Patiala.

23. Lakshmi with attendants,
Qila Mubarak, Patiala. ↓





24. Krishna harassing Gopis while coming from the river.



25. Radha and Krishna enjoying the dance of Gopis, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.



26. Giri Goverdhanlila, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.



27. Rasalila, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.



28. Krishna playing flute while taking cows to the fields for grazing, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.



29. Gaja-mokshalial, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.



30. Samudra Manthan.

CHAPTER III



PAINTING IN PUNJAB—THEMES

(a) ANALYSIS OF THEMES

WHILE analysing the various themes of painting in the Punjab plains in the nineteenth century, the following factors should not be lost sight of—the social environment, the patronage extended officially and privately, the religious fervour of the people among whom the art flourished, and, the external influences, if any, which determined the growth and development of themes of painting, viz. murals, miniatures and manuscripts. Documentary as well as visual evidences that have come down to us bear testimony to the fact that all three spheres of painting were patronised by the royal courts.[1] There is no denying the fact that, as in earlier centuries in several parts of India, the princely set-up was reigning supreme in this part of the country. It was further divided in the smaller confederacies known as Phulkian states, i.e. Cis-Sutlej principalities covering the area from the Jamuna to the Sutjej. Then, beyond Sutlej, Ludhiana, Jullundur and Amritsar were under British-Indian administration. The Hilly area in north-west known as Kangra hills, now designated as Himachal Pradesh, was divided further amongst Pahari Rajput rajas. Some twenty-three chiefs ruled in this region. Farther west by the kingdom of Ranjit Singh, at Lohore[2]—which was once the pride of Mughal emperors, second only to Agra. Archer and Goswamy tried to prove that painting in Punjab started as a result of enthronement of Ranjit Singh, and that no school of painting existed before that. This claim was contradicted and disproved by H.H. Cole,[3] the late Professor O.C. Ganguli,[4] and Dr M.A. Chughtai[5] while tracing the historical and genetic background of Moghul School of Painting in India. Akbar's principal studios were established at Lahore and Fatehpur Sikri, and, apart from these, several other provincial centres also flourished at this time in Gujarat, Gwalior and Kashmir. Famed artists from far away centres came to work in the royal atelier at Lahore and Fatehpur Sikri. Punjab was represented by Kalu Lahori and Ibrahim Lahori who contributed signed miniatures in illuminated Darabnama.[6]

Wide variety of themes developed during the nineteenth century in the Punjab plains, whether the patrons were the kings, Sikh chiefs, big landlords, officers in the royal courts, businessman, Europeans in the employ of native princes or the rural feudatories. Their taste is invariably reflected in the miniatures painted by artists.

Some of the themes, no doubt, travelled from the adjoining areas from where the Pahari painters migrated after the collapse of Pahari kingdoms at the hands of Ranjit Singh. Specifically the painters who executed masterpieces of Vaishnavite, Saivite,[7] Ragas and Raginis, *Gita Govind*, themes of Love,[8] cult of Devi,[9] *Bhagwat Puran*, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*, *Chitta-Ras Manajari*[10] etc., were now compelled to paint new themes of Sikh sirdars, ranis, Sikh ministers, Sikh Gurus, Sikh rajas, Sikh army officers, jugglers, Pl. IX wrestlers, Nihangs, carricatures, women baking chapatis (Plates 94-101, 104-108), sadhu

playing sitar, Pl. VII Musicians, ekka with female passengers,[11] and the pictures of rajas of Punjab.[12] This was obviously due to the feuds among the twelve Sikh federations or misls[13] and especially their intense jealousy of the leader of the Sakerchakia misl. Ranjit Singh and their cherished hope to be glorified like him. And the Lion of Punjab (as Ranjit Singh is popularly referred to in Punjab) wanted to imitate the Mughal emperor.

The result was several thousand portraits Pl. VI, drawings, sketches, tracings, frescos and illustrated manuscripts. External influences were, undoubtedly, making inroads into Punjab from several directions. In fact, Punjab became the confluence of the best traditional and cultural values of India in such a way that every new wave of cultural pattern was absorbed in the soil, air and colour of Punjab. Nothing remained once it set foot on the land of five rivers, on the land of Vedas, Porus, Kurukshetra, Nanak and Farid[14] and Guru Gobind Singh.

Several European[15] artists, namely: August Theodore Schoefft, Emily Eden, Von Orlich, C.S. Hardinge, Mrs Colin Mackenzie, William Carpenter, etc., also visited this region, and their portraits, sketches[16] and landscapes influenced the painting of Punjab to a large extent. Every painting done in Punjab plains bears the clear stamp of European light and shade scheme, use of gouche, and water-colours.

Notwithstanding what the painters did for the royal patron, some foreigners like August W. Honner[17] got prepared drawings, sketches and miniatures to be sent to England.[18] Previous scholars[19] have also testified to such art activity in Lahore, Amritsar and Kapurthala, centres where Kapur Singh is said to have been busy making pictures infused with many idioms. Then again Percy Brown[20] writes appreciatively about the same artist who painted mythological, primarily Vaishnavite, themes like "Krishna under a Flowering tree fluting to Gopies"[21] also painted scenes of day-to-day life as farmer working in the field, village woman carrying food to her husband in the far away fields as well as pictures representing lower strata of the society—cobbler (Plate 94), weaver (Plate 104), carpenter and "oil-mill owner".

There were several other artists of repute, like Kehar Singh, Bishan Singh, Purkhu, Devi Datta, Mohmad Bux Pls. IV, V, Hasn-ud-din, Mohd Azim, Jiwan Ram, Iman Bux Pl. X, Peer Bux, Karim Bux etc. who made abundant contribution towards the enrichment of art of painting in Punjab plains in nineteenth century.[22] Dr Abdullah Chughtai, Abdur Rehman Chughtai Pl. II and Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh Yakdil have informed us of dozens of such artists who painted a variety of themes.

Miniatures

Morphological study of these paintings suggest that these may be classified into four types: royal i.e., court paintings or paintings feudal in nature; religious paintings plus the paintings on mythological subjects; secular paintings or those pertaining to popular or folk subjects; then, ethnological studies which at once show us the specific features of different nationalities, races and castes which lived in the hybrid Punjab of that time. Almost thirteen types of themes were either drawn, sketched or painted during this era and may be tabulated as below:

THEMES OF MINIATURE PAINTING IN PUNJAB

Court paintings or paintings feudal in nature	*Religious paintings or on mythological subjects*	*Secular paintings relating to popular folk themes*	*Ethnological studies*
Royal portraits, portraits of courtiers and chiefs, court scenes, meeting foreign dignitories, royal funeral (suttee scenes of Ranis of Ranjit Singh)	Sets of Sikh Gurus, sets of saints and poets, stories from Hindu pantheon and mythology, life of Guru Nanak and other Gurus	Hunting scenes; flowers, foliage, birds and other normal illumination; and domestic life scenes, farmer, bania, pandit, woman baking bread	Carpenter, cobbler, oil-mill worker, Nihangs, blacksmith, weavers, postman

Iconographical analysis of themes of Punjab paintings reveal that the artists and patrons were both keenly interested in the religious subjects of Hindu pantheon and mythology. Artists such as Pandit Raja Ram alias Tota of Lahore,[23] Imam Verdi and Ghulam Mustafa[24] also profusedly rendered such pictures which were later purchased by the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Plates 39-43), in the late nineteenth century. These pictures were: *Great Battle of Kurukshetra* (Plate 43), *The Court of Kauravas*, *Kans being Slain by Krishna*, *The Kalianag Manthan*, *Sita in Capitivity* (Plate 41), *The Varahavatar* (Plate 42), *The Narsimhavatar* (Plate 40), *The Vamanavatar* (Plate 39) and *The Jagannath* or *Lord of the World*. But purely iconographic study of these miniatures, would detract us from our purpose. A thematic approach intermingled with stylistic study would serve our purpose better, as inconographic analysis would provide religious history instead of art history of the period under study. Stylistic study implies that the important aspect of form, style, manner[25] will have to be taken into account. According to Dr Charles Louis Fabri's hypothesis every phase in Indian art is exclusively distinct in its own merit and style. Style always changes and hence it is dynamic. It is because of this that India produced paintings quite conforming to the ideals of originality, inventiveness, constant change, renewal and reform, infinite variety[26]—which are the eternal message of Indian art.

Paintings such as *Maharaja Sher Singh* (Plate 89), *Guru Har Govind* (Plate 116), *Boar Hunt at Night*, *Prince Dalip Singh* (Plate 50), *Hira Singh of Jammu* (Plate 91), *Sodhi Kartapur on Horse Back*, *The Signature of Treaty of Lahore* and *Portrait of Dhyan Singh* (Plate 38) along with a host of other pictures executed during this period disprove all unwarranted criticism levelled against this art as the "decandent phase" of Kangra art. The parallel analogy can conveniently be drawn from Mughal painting itself, which in the beginning drew inspiration and copied style and technique from diverse quarters, namely; Iranian (which itself was already influenced by Sino-Mongolian cultural impact, and according to Vincent A. Smith[27] by Roman art also). But ultimate nomenclature given to the paintings of this period is Moghul, neither Iranian nor Mongolian. The contributory influences are eclipsed, and a new style, new force and new image takes birth as a result of assimilation and by a process of commingling of alien and indigenous fashions and designs suiting to local conditions.

Thus, the paintings done in Punjab plains depict the ethos of the people of Punjab. The subject matter painted, as referred to above, did reflect the borrowings from neighbouring areas. But, despite all the external influences (of course in a limited manner), Punjab painting always remained distinctly Punjabi in tone, temper and character. Hence, they have secured their definite place in national perspective of Indian art history.[28] Denying this phase its rightful place in the annals of Indian painting would be to discriminate against it arbitrarily. Of course, there are some scholars who would never subscribe to the theory of attributing to this regional school of painting, the name, "Sikh School of Painting". Even the late Dr W.G. Archer evaded it adroitly. They would prefer to call it just an "extension of Pahari painting in Punjab Plains", and justify their claim with the help of Pahari artists' nominal stay in Punjab. But, what about the role of local artists who were working along with Pahari emigre painters? Most prominent among those are Kehar Singh, Kishan Singh, Bishan Singh, Kapur Singh, Rood Singh, Ishar Singh, Hari Singh,[29] Mohd Bakhsh Pl. VIII, Peer Bakhsh, Karm Bakhsh and Lahora Singh of Gumti Bazar, Lahore, Thakur Lal Singh, and others, who have left behind a large number of paintings, drawings and sketches[30] which are the envy of all. Artist Thakur Lal Singh (Plates 116-118) was an able artist who worked at Nabha for quite a number of years.[31]

Patiala and the other princely states, Kapurthala, Sangrur and Nabha, were also centres of painting activity. The themes depicted here may be classified as: individual royal portraits, portraits of Sikh Gurus, stories from Hindu mythologies. Narinder Singh of patiala was a great patron of art and curtural activity among North Indian princes. It was to Patiala that the painters from the hills migrated in search of new patrons, it was here that the skilled masons from Rajasthan came to build palaces, forts, temples and Gurudwaras, and, it was here that these painters[32] produced a large number of memorable paintings of Hindu gods and goddesses and on Puranic themes. These were done in the style and technique which bespeaks of a happy blend of Rajasthani and Gulerian trend of Pahari paintings.[33] Whether it was

the case of painting Sikh Gurus Pl. XIII[34] or the royal portraits, the artists could not resist the ancestral line of Pahari-Rajasthani technique—soft outline, sweet colour scheme, beautiful landscape, lyrical, graceful and heavenly ladies together with the prince in Mughalai *pugree*, *jamah* and pearl-studded sword, by loyal audience and courtiers. Sometimes Narinder Singh of Patiala (1845-62) (Plate 46) has been shown in procession on the elephant followed by a retinue and citizens alround, while a tiny landscape of the city in the remote background completes this painting.[35] Then there is the picture of Karam Singh[36] (1813-45) (Plate 44), ruler of Patiala, on horse-back, a portrait of a hero and a man of action. Apart from the royal portraits done at Patiala, exquisite religious paintings were also done. One such example can be found in Gurudwara Guru Tegh Bahadur at Bahadurgarh near Patiala. This painting depicts Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesh in the same picture plane. All the three Hindu deities have been beautifully painted as also the tiny lotus flowers in the foreground. There appears to be complete harmony among this trinity. Arms and armoury articles were also not ignored by the artists in the erstwhile Patiala state. The famous artist Brij Mohan Lal (1893) has painted exquisite drawings.[37]

Then this tradition of miniature painting travelled to the Jind state where royal portraits were painted in good number. Gajpat Singh (Plate 69), Sangat Singh (Plate 68) and Ranbir Singh (Plate 67) were patrons of art and culture in the erstwhile Phulkian area.[38] It would not be out of place to mention here that literature and poetry also were given an impetus by these Malwa chiefs. Construction of well-planned palaces and other buildings surrounded by well-laid-out gardens were undertaken. Although these were done at the behest of the rulers of the states, this reflected the mood and temperament of the people as well. The stern facial expression and the regal posture of these chiefs vies with the choghas of Mughal emperors. In fact, Moghul court fashions set an example in matters of dress, social customs, moral standards, marriages, festivals, etiquettes etc., for the smaller state princes. Then, in turn, the smaller chiefs were being aped by landlords and big zamindars and biswindars and so on.

Sardar Sant Parkash Singh, a connoisseur of art, owned some high quality miniatures by Kehar Singh (Plates 48-49, 53, 106-107) and Kapur Singh[39] (Plates 102-105). Most of his paintings have now been sold to the Government Museum, Chandigarh. Among these *Martyrdom of Guru Arjan Dev* is a masterpiece of painter Kapur Singh, who, at the same time, was the first to introduce photography in Punjab. Also he was the first to adopt oil as a medium of painting.[40]

Murals

Like miniature painting mural painting also flourished in almost all the districts of Punjab. This reflects the artistic taste of the people who patronised them as also the religious trend which was holding the uppermost place in the minds of the masses around them.

Before we proceed into question of analysis of the themes depicted in the murals of Punjab, we must, first of all unravel the psychological genesis and social compulsions for having the murals painted in religious establishments, personal residences, palaces, cemeteries, gardens, gates, etc. Possibly some of the reasons are the snobbery of the wealthy class, the opulence of the big landlords, the ambition of every chief to pose as a maharaja (whether big or small) aping the grandeur and splendour of the Great Mughals, who collapsed after 1857. These new pseudo-Mughals—the loyal Sikh sardars, loyal merchant class, loyal government service cadre, priestly order amassing wealth and land at the expense of peasantry and masses—got buildings decorated with different types of Hindu, Sikh religious as well as popular themes.

The Punjab of this period although influenced by local as well as foreign cultural trends, inherited from the medieval Punjab several significant religious legacies which are known as Sufi and Bhakti movements. These movements attacked social evils like the rigidity of the orthodox religious leaders, criticised evil doers, and protested against royal tyranny of the times; and instead preached universal brotherhood of man irrespective of caste, creed and colour. Such movements gave birth to mystics, traders, poets and philosophers like Sheikh Ali Hajeveri, Qazi Abul Hasan Bulani, Sheikh Farid

Ganji Shakar and Guru Nanak.[41] The last named Guru spread the message of classless society, universal brotherhood, removal of superstitions and untouchability, etc. to the people of India at that time. Punjab was directly affected by his teachings as he was born and brought up here, hence, his religious and social ideas were adopted by people from all walks of life who found relevance and practability in its profession. Prof K.A. Nizami has very aptly stated:[42]

> Notwithstanding the feverish military activity that went on its soil, the Punjab nurtured and developed a number of mystic movements which had a direct or indirect impact on the entire country. The reasons were more psychological than others. The Punjab had seen incessant military activity—armies marching to and from the frontier areas, the Mongols devastating the country and people being called upon every now and then to defend their life and property against foreign inroads. Thoughtful people turned to the first principle of life and found in the Khanqahs not only an antidote to the prevailing hysteria of the period but the refreshing breeze of a different world. The Chishti and the Suhrawardi Khanqahs which sprang up all over the Punjab were like islands of love and peace in an ocean of tumult and storm. Shaikh Farid Ganji Sakar's Jama at Khanah at Ajodhan, for instance, was one of the greatest centres of spiritualism in medieval India and all sorts of people—Hindus and Muslims, rich and poor, *jogis*, and *qalandars*, villagers and townsfolk, men and women—flocked to it from far and near. When Hamid's conscience rebelled against the service of Tughril, he left Lakhnauti and went to Ajodhan to sit at the feet of Shaikh Farid. The atmosphere of his Jama at Khanah was in direct contrast to the conditions prevailing in the political world. Balban made hideous distinctions between man and man, and, openly propounded his theory of *Shariya* and *razil*. The Turkish aristocracy rolled in purple and enjoyed all the fruits of an expanding imperialism while the common people toiled and struggled ceaselessly for their bread. To Shaikh Farid all human beings were equal, made of the selfsame clay, whatever their race, creed, colour or status. His Jama at Khanah was, at that time, the only place under the Indian sun where the emperor of Hindustan and a penniless pauper were received in the same way. The contamination of court life had not touched its spiritual serenity and classless atmosphere. In fact it was the hospices of sufis, saints and bhagats which sustained the moral equilibrium of society in an age of when in the words of Guru Nanak:
>
> In the gloom of flasehood
> The moon of truth is never seen
> And law of life has taken wings.

It was admittedly against the background of these social and religious movements that Guru Nanak (1469-1539) and his nine successors[43] preached the message of unity of God, the doctrine of pure deism. He maintained that true and pure religion was one, and that all men were equal.[44] The effect of this movement was so powerful that it engulfed the entire realm of human activity in this lend of five rivers. Literature, life, language, culture, fashions, designs, motifs as represented in religious institutions were symbolic of this Master's philosophy.[45] Hence, it was natural that the entire art of mural painting as practised in Punjab from Peshawar (Pakistan) to the neighbourhood of Delhi, spreading to western ridge of Hyderabad in Sind (Pakistan), encircled by other Phulkian states of East Punjab, showed definite signs of themes as preached by Guru Nanak and his successor. These teachings have been compiled in *Granth Sahib*. Consequently, all religious institutions which were constructed by the Sikhs represented the life-scenes of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh, the Tenth Master, and temples constructed by the followers of Vaishnavism profusely illustrated the life-stories in *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* as well as the tales from Bhagwat Puran. Bihari's *Sat Sai* was also illustrated here. This aspect has been well expressed by the French scholar Rene Grousset:[46]

India and her vast literature have also given the world the example of two representative states of soul. One developed particularly in Krishnaite churches, is compounded of trusting devotion (bhakti), the love of God, of tenderness and surrender to Him. This is not peculiar to India and may also be found in christianity and Shi'ite Islam. It finds expression here, especially in Bengali poetry, in charming images (little cows and shepherd girls, alike spmbolising pious souls, raised to ecstasy by the flute notes of the divine cowherd); but also in that excess of erotic symbolism which has always been the inevitable characteristic of certain religious faiths.

At several places popular paintings and drawings were also found depicting just poetic themes of Firdausi of Persia. Birds and animals, flowers and foliage have been painted in abundance in private residences, temples and mosques. The motive behind all this activity has already been discussed earlier in detail. Most prominent places where these murals have been found are seventy-five in number.[47] However, a critical analysis of some of the classic frescos would be worthwhile here.

Guru Nanak with Bala and Mardana (Plate 6) depicting the life-long companionship of the trio has been discovered in Ramtatwali Hoshiarpur district. Guru Nanak, the apostle of Sikh religion and reformer of fifteenth-century Punjab advocated the principles of universal brotherhood. Bala and Mardana as shown in the wall painting were always with him, and have been painted everywhere, wherever Guru Nanak was painted.

Ganpati Pujan (Plate 1)—Ganapati or Ganesha as he is popularly known among the Hindus. He is the son of Shiva and Parvati, Ganesh is considered as the deity of good omen and prosperity in the Hindu pantheon. Maharashtrians worship this deity during the festival of Ganesh chaturthi.

Royal princes in conversation (Plate 2), resembles the Rajasthani royal court wearing Rajasthani attire. A camel is entering from the right gate confirms our view.

Guru Amar Dass (1552-74) (Plate 3), third Guru of the Sikhs, blesses his disciples. In the background is seen the vast courtyard of the palatial buildings.

Radha and Krishna in conversation (Plate 4) presumably discussing the details of the battle of Mahabharata as he holds sword and shield, with a bow lying on the carpet.

Bhim flinging elephants in the air (Plate 16) is an exhibition of his superhuman strength. This story is from the *Mahabharata*. This wall painting was done in the Samadhi of Baba Mohar Singh in village Lopon, Ludhiana District.

Kanswadhlila—Krishna along with Balram is killing Kans (his maternal uncle) as the latter had evil spirit and declared himself as a God. And it was prophesied that his own nephew (sister's son) would kill him, and hence it happened.

Shiva, Parvati and Ganpati (Plate 18)—The three major deities Saivite cult againgst the background of mount Kailash, the permanent abode of Shiva and Parvati. Deity Kartikeya is looking on the couple while Ganapati is holding chowrie from behind. *Nandi* of Shiva and *Lion* of Parvati (vehicles of both) are seen in foreground.

Guru Gobind Singh (Plate 10) shown with Ramayan heroes Rama, Sita and Lakshman in upper as well as lower positions respectively, in Mai Rajji temple at Handiyaya, District Sangrur.

The fresco of *Guru Baba Sri Chand* (Plate 9) shows the spread of mysticism of saints and sadhus in Punjab.

Ten Sikh Gurus (Plate 14) is a magnificent specimen of assembly of all the ten Gurus in one session. Although, this is historically a wrong, yet, this is the conception of the artist who has created a sort of unity of thought among all the ten Gurus.

The panel "*Churning the Ocean*" (Plate 11) is symbolic of several Hindu deities. It is a sort of a folk painting done with an express purpose of delineating the religious faith among the people. This is just to propagate the Vaishnavite cult worship. The upper portion of the fresco depicts horse on the left and elephant on the right, then two females and a male figure have been added to balance the composition.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh and Three Dogra Brothers (Plate 5) gives a clear idea of how the Dogra Rajputs

were faithful and loyal to Ranjit Singh and how they were consolidating the strength outside. These three Dogra ministers were the most important functionaries of the court and had won the complete confidence of Ranjit Singh, although, several historians hold that they betrayed the Sikh kingdom of Lahore.

Guru Gobind Singh (the tenth Guru of the Sikhs) *on the Horse Back* together with the followers (Plate 16). The Guru has been shown majestically riding a horse. A dog has also been introduced in this fresco which deepens the meaning of the theme painted by muralist. Either the Guru was out on some *shikar* or he is going to meet some foreign power, i.e., Mughal authority as the *baz* is always in his right hand. See also Pl. XIII.

Maharani Jindan of Ranjit Singh (Plate 7) is an oval shape framed painting of Rani Jindan who possessed indomitable character and matchless energy to work for the restoration of the Lohore kingdom. Despite her best efforts to solicit aid at the critical juncture from Nepal and Russia, she could not regain her lost kingdom. A beautiful woman and the beloved among the queens of Ranjit Singh, she played a pivotal role in the days of crisis that followed the death of the Maharaja in 1839.

The panel *Ram and Sita* seated on a chowki (Plate 8) surrounded by maid-servants shows the dominating influence of Vaishnavite worship among the low-lying hilly areas of Hoshiarpur where Vaishnavite worship spread extensively.

Four Mahants of Pindori Dham (Plate 12): Pindori Dham is a Vaishnavite "math" started during the period of Mughal Emperor Jehangir. Its walls and temples are all embellished with themes from Hindu mythology. Here in this panel several *mehants* have been shown. They are said to be endowed with spiritual power just like sufi saints of the medievel times.

In *Radha Krishna Milan* (Plate 19), Krishna's arrival to meet Radha at the mutually agreed place is superbly painted by a Vaishnavite artist of the nineteenth century. A half portion of the building is beautifully matched by a flowering tree on the left side. This Radha Krishna cult has so deeply influenced the cultural patterns of people of Northern India that it is difficult to think any home without an image of this couple.

Vishnu and Lakshmi with Narad (Plate 20): Vaishnavite people in North and Central India worship Vishnu and Lakshmi directly or through their various incarnations. Here Vishnu has been shown against the background of palatial buildings. Narad and Brahma are also attending his audience.

Vishnu in Varahavatar (incarnation), (Plate 22): Lord Vishnu through the incarnation of Varah killing the evil spirit while lifting the earth on his tusks. These are symbolic manifestations of powers of God Vishnu which has been described in Puranas and painted in pictures.

Then, in the panel Guru Nanak has been shown refusing the *jeneo* from a Brahman (Plate 13). He does not have faith in ritualistic religious ceremonies and has called these things as superfluous and nonsensical.

Yet, in another panel (Plate 17) Guru Nanak is busy in meditation while his cows are grazing. A villager is seen in the foreground moving the cattle from his fields. Bushes, fields, trees, ponds etc., have all been shown alongwith the shady tree under which Guru Nanak is sitting in his spiritual transaction with the "*Akal Prakh*" (i.e. eternal personality).

Krishna harassing the Gopis (Plate 24): The cowherd Krishna is popularly known as the lover of Gopis among the Vaishnavite people of India. This marvellous wall panel depicts Krishna's tactics of harassing the Gopis while bringing water from Jamuna river. The composition is harmonious, division of space is pleasing, landscape in the background is natural—all make a sound and beautiful picture with the central figure of Krishna.

Radha and Krishna witnessing a dance of Gopis (Plate 25): The love of Radha and Krishna is well known. Here Gopis are dancing and Radha and Krishna are enjoying the ensemble. Maid-servants are standing in attendance. Courtly atmosphere is clearly visible.

Giri Goverdhan Lila (Plate 26): Lord Krishna is considered to be a saviour of Brij (an area around Mathura). Here Krishna (an incarnation of Vishnu) is shown lifting the Goverdhan hill on his finger and thereby saving the entire population from heavy rains and ferocious floods. The entire population along with their cows are looking at him in this hour of emergency.

Ras-Lila—Radha Krishna in dancing pose (Plate 27): Here Krishna is dancing with Radha alone. Gopis are the silent spectators in this drama. The background adds to the charm of the whole pictorial composition. *Lehnga* garments of Gopis and *mukat* (headwear) are bewitching while dancing feet of the couple are enchanting.

Krishna playing flute while taking cows to the fields (Plate 28): Krishna was everything for the Brijbasis, hence, when they were going for grazing the cows and calves, Krishna always accompanied them. Krishna enticed the Gopis and Gopals with the magic of his flutes.

Maharaja Amar Singh (Plate 32): A life-size study of the ruler of Patiala (late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries) who started artistic building activity in Patiala in the nineteenth century. He invited Rajasthani architects, masons, and artists to embelish his forts and palaces. His work was carried on by his able successor Narender Singh.

Guru Tegh Bahadur (Plate 33): A wall painting of Guru Tegh Bahadur, nineth Guru of the Sikhs, talking to a devotee while a servant is holding chowrie at the back.

Guru Gobind Singh (Plate 34): A wall painting of Guru Gobind Singh, tenth Guru of the Sikhs, marching on in the company of his *sewaks*.

Sudama (Plate 36): A wall panel showing Sudama, a childhood friend of Krishna, reaching the fort of Krishna. Tattared clothes and leafless trees are adding to the psychological atmosphere of his grinding poverty which forced him to approach his friend at this critical juncture.

Guru Gobind Singh on horse back (Plate 16) with *baz* in right hand is the common feature. He has been acknowledged as the soldier-saint among the Sikh today. He was the brave son of Guru Tegh Bahadur, and, was born at Patna (Bihar). He had four sons who were all sacrificed for the security of the Hindus of the day. Naked fanaticism of religious bigots who guided the rulers of the day were at the back of all this. The entire Sikh people together with Hindus are indebted to him for this priceless martyrdom for the freedom of thought, religious observances which Hindus wanted, but, Muslim bigots stopped it mercilessly.

Illustrated Manuscripts

Along with the discussion on the themes of miniature and mural painting, it is necessary to dwell on the subject of the illustrated manuscripts which were prepared in the Punjab plains Pl. XI. As was the case of miniature painting which assumed the status of high quality art before and during the reign of Ranjit Singh at Lahore[48] (Plates 82-86) and in other principalities of Punjab Sikh states, the art of illustrating the manuscripts also received appreciable support of the princely patrons of this region. In a way they tried to emulate the life pattern of great Mughal ruler of Delhi and later grow provincial governers of Punjab who were becoming independent. At that time the Sikh principalities, taking advantage of the crumbling administration of both central and provincial governments, seized power in several places, viz, Lahore, Patiala, Jind, Kapurthala, Nabha, Kalsia, etc., and established their kingdoms. Pomp and grandeur followed, royal splendour started, palaces and forts sprang up, gala pageantry commenced. When all was set, the affluent society thought of art and literature, music, dance and fashion.

The resurgence of illustrated manuscripts was thus a natural off-shot of one of those declining radiant cultural traditions which drew on the rich heritage of the Mughals as well as the Rajputs. It was not a new trend, but of new patrons became aglow with power.

For the convenience of systematic study of manuscript painting of Punjab, the following pattern, although arbitrary, has been observed. Several shades of themes which had been current in this period are given below in chronological order as far as possible. An attempt has also been made to distinguish the intermingling and emergence of any new style in the whole course of manuscript painting.

As already stated elsewhere, a school of painting flourished at Lahore which was the second seat of governance of Mughal emperor Akbar[49] in sixteenth century and seventeenth century. An eighteenth century manuscript of *Bhagwat Puran* was discovered by late Dr Herman Goetz.[50] Then, further Dr A.K.

Coomaraswamy. doyen of Indian art history, had stated in 1916 as follows:[51]

> But towards the middle of eighteenth century a school of painting developed which turned portrait of nobles and princes and chiefs in good quality. Sikh religious scripture what we know as *Granth Sahib* was also found illustrated. It appears that these were executed under the influence of Kashmir *Kalam*, Pl. XII, 75.

Our advocacy of the presence of manuscript painting in Punjab is strengthened by E. Vredenberg in 1920[52] and Dr Hiranand Shastri in 1935[53] who had made thorough research in manuscript tradition as a visual art in India.

The principal categories of themes as depicted in manuscript illustrations may be classified as below.

PRINCIPAL CATEGORIES OF THEMES AS DEPICTED IN ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS IN PUNJAB

Religious	*Historical*	*Secular*	*Love Stories*
Mahabharat	Shahnama	Ajaib-ul-Makhluqat	Sherin-Ferhad
Gita Panchratni	Tarikh-Dilkhusha	(Military Manual of Ranjit	Sassi-Pannu
Katha-Satyugki	Gulgasht-e-Punjab	Singh)	Sohni Mahiwal
Bhagwat Puran	Waqiat-e-Alamgiri	(Majma-ul-Gharaib)	Chandra Badan
Shiv Puran	Zafarnama	Muntaqul Atteer	Bazm-e-Afroz
Janam Sakhi	Gulistan		
Stotra	Darabnama		
Panch-Ratni	Iqbalnama of Ranjit Singh		
Pothi Gurbani	Baburnama		
Ramayan	History of Sikh Religion		
Sat Sai of Behari	Ranjit Singhnama		
Markandeya Puran	Sher Singhnama		
Dasam Skand	Tawarikh-i-Kalan Kashmir		
Dasam Granth	Zafarnama by Gobind Singh		
Bani Guru Sahiban	Bachitra-Natak		

The manuscripts illustrated after the collapse of the Moghul rule in Punjab show definite signs of Mughal style as is evident from the *Darabnama* and *Baburnama* which were illustrated by Lahori artists. Their influence on the further manuscripts shows us the clear impress on *Gulistan*, *Majmua-ul-Gharaib*, *Muntaqul-Atteer* and *Bazm-e-Afroz*. These manuscripts dealing with the subject of brids, animals, human beings, love stories, stories of kings of Persia with Persian influence were illustrated. There is a manuscript, *Ajaib-ul-Makhluqat*, a Persian translation of the well-known Arabic work on natural history by Qazwani in four volumes. It has covered all the human beings, animal world, fairy world, three-headed men, tree-women or dryads, naked men, naked women—all woven in these volumes describing the commission and omission of men and the manifestation of their consequences in other forms. Yet another Persian manuscript of *Mahabharat* was made in V.S. 1903 (A.D. 1846) by Naqib Khan and Abdul Qadir and translated by Muhammad Sultan of Thanesar (now in Haryana). This brings us to the end of the post-Akbari period which had its marked influence on the manuscript painting in the succeeding centuries in Punjab.

The period that followed the downfall of Mughal administration at Lahore and takeover by Ranjit Singh, saw some sort of stop-gap programme of painting with lingering interest in this cultural activity. Persons from Kashmir, Jammu and Hill areas were already coming and going to and from Punjab. This inter-state communication led to spread, exchange and cross-currents of styles, symbols and themes of painting in various forms including manuscript illustration. If *Chitra-Ras-Manjari*, *Bhagwat Puran* (Plates 113-115), *Ramayan*, *Shiva Puran* were illustrated in Pahari region, they were simultaneously copied and painted in the neighbouring Punjab plain also, These themes as coming out of Vaishnavite sect of Hindu society laid stress on giving expression to several Hindu divinities. So was the case with

Shaivite followers. They got illustrated the life stories of Shiva, Parvati, Ganesh, Uma in various forms and moods. A very significant and interesting documentary evidence in this regard has come to light. This is a dated and inscribed *Shiva Puran* (M. 1683 CPLP) (Plates 76-78) deposited at Central Public Library at Patiala. Its colophon provides the following inscription in Persian, its English translation is given below (see Appendix G):

> Manuscript (*pothi*) of *Maha Shiv Puran* prepared in Samvat 1929 by Pandit Daya Ram father of Pandit Raja Ram Tota under the auspices of Lahore kingdom.

This is the first strong visual-cum-documentary evidence in support of our claim that manuscript painting flourished in the nineteenth century and that Shaivite worship also had its sway over the minds of sizable section of the people in the kingdom of Lahore. It also manifests the catholic character of the ruler, Sher Singh, who was the keen connoisseur of this art after the death of his father Ranjit Singh in 1839. It contains illustrated pictures, as for example: *Ganesh with lady devotees* (Plate 76); *Shiva with Parvati* (Plate 77); *Shiva, Parvati and Ganesh* (Plate 78). All the three demonstrate the well-conceived and well-defined themes and designs together with workmanship of the artist who made these. This practice had been in vogue in Pahari region which had its source of inspiration from Rajasthan in matters of style as well as themes. In fact, the taste and trend in style of painting were determined largely in accordance with the taste of the patrons who were Rajput princes in Himachal Pradesh and Sikh chiefs in the Punjab plains. As such, the themes of Pahari manuscript illustrations travelled from the romantic Hilly areas to the hot plains where new patrons gave them hearty welcome. Hence, the great Indian epics like *Mahabharat*, *Ramayan*, *Shiva Puran*, *Bhagwat Puran*, *Vishnu Puran*, *Gita-Panchratni*, *Pothi Gurbani*, *Granth Sahib* and *Janam Sakhis* (Plates 71-74) etc. were illustrated under the classic influence of Pahari style. The above-cited manuscripts were written either in Persian, Gurmukhi or Sanskrit languages. *Life of Guru Nanak*, apostle of Sikh religion, was profusely illustrated. The tradition of illustrating *Janam Sakhis* starting from eighteenth century (Plate 75) was continued till the beginning of twentieth century by different authors and artists. A copy of dated *Janam Sakhi* is now in possession of Bedi family at Una[54] (now in Himachal Pradesh). Similar *Janam Sakhi* is in the possession of Prof Pritam Singh at Amritsar[55] (Plates 71-72) and yet another important *Janam Sakhi* is in the collection of India Office Library and Records, London.[56] These, as all other literature in this connection, depicted the eventful miracles of first Guru of the Sikhs. *Janam Sakhis* of Baba Nanak's life with high quality illustrations are preserved in some private and museum collections.[57]

Other illustrated manuscripts of note during the period under reference relating to religious themes are *Katha-Satyugki* by Kavi Bir Singh (A.D. 1842) which deals with (a) Draupdi charitra, (b) Katha Raja Bharthari, and (c) Gopi Chand etc.

Next, we take up the consideration of manuscripts which have been found illustrating the themes from the pages of history. Most prominent among these are *Shahnama* (Acc. M/364, GAP) by Hakim Abdul Qasim Firdausi and an abridged volume under the title of *Tarikh-e-Dil-Khusha* (Acc. M/363, GAP) by Tawaka s/o Malik Beg prepared in A.D. 1828 which depict the legendary history of Persia.

Then comes the landmark of nineteenth century, illustrated manuscript *Gulgasht-e-Punjab* (Acc. M/790, GAP) written by Pandit Raja Ram Kaul alias Tota in A.D. 1849 (Plates 87-90). It describes the general history of Punjab. It carries the illustrations of Jwalamukhi, a Hindu pilgrimage in Himachal Pradesh, Badshahi Mosque of Lahore, then, of course, of royal family of Lahore, Prince Dalip Singh (Plate 93), and Naunihal Singh (Plate 90) in the company of courtiers. It is written in Persian script and displays the characteristic eclectic style with percolation of Delhi style of mauvish tone in garments of the figures. Then there is *Zafar Nama* (Persian) (Acc. M/824 GAP) which narrates the story of Guru Gobind Singh's plea through a letter that his innocent children may not be killed at the instance of governor of Sirhind on whose guidance Mughal emperor Aurangzeb used to act. The author of *Zafar Nama* was Guru Gobind Singh and Raja Ram Kaul alias Tota was a copyist-cum-artist in the nineteenth century. *Iqbal Nama of Ranjit Singh* illustrates the event of the reign of Ranjit Singh, the Lion of

Lahore. Lastly, in the historical series of manuscripts come McCauliffe's *History of Sikh Religion* which was illustrated by artist Thakur Lal Singh (Plates 116-118). The artist displays the skill of modern line drawing as introduced by the European artists in Punjab.

In what we term as secular category of illustrated manuscripts, the following are included: *Ajaibul-Makhluqat* (Acc. 1853 to 1856 CPLP), four volumes, by Qazwani, which illustrates reptiles, monkeys, winged human figures, men and women, human-headed fish, scorpion, etc. The *Military Manual of Ranjit Singh* (A.D. 1830) illustrates the military history of his reign in Persian language. It contains, *inter alia*, magnificent illustrations of Sikh Gurus and a court scene of Ranjit Singh in Pahari-Mughal style. This prestigious manuscript is now in the possession of Punjab Government Museum, Ranjit Singh's Palace (Ram Bagh Gardens), Amritsar (Plates 82-87).

Then, comes the last category of illustrated manuscripts pertaining to love stories. These narrate the famous romances of Persia and Punjab. The *Sherin-Ferhad* (Acc. M/486 GAP) was written by Hashim during the reign of Ranjit Singh in A.D. 1812. Another manuscript *Qissajat-Punjabi* (Acc. M/3731, GAP), authors being Hashim, Gurdial Singh and Maqbul, narrates the love romances of Sherin-Ferhad, Sassi-Pannu and Sohni-Mahiwal. These are the medieval love themes of Punjab which have affected the very life blood of every Punjabi. Rural folk in Punjab, Bhangra dancers, and young women always sing these romantic tales in the form of lyrics on the festive occasions of harvest, Basant, marriages, etc. Another *Sherin-Ferhad* (Acc. M/615 GAP) is that written in Punjabi original by Hashim and copied by Ram Singh Tapi in A.D. 1849. Again, *Masnavi Chandra Bandan* (Acc. M/1610 CPLP) describes the love affairs of a lady with several persons and *Bazm-e-Afroz* (Acc. M/450 CPLP) describes the love story of one of the kings of Kanauj. Kanauj had been an important imperial power in the medieval period of Indian history. Its cultural achievements had far-reaching impact on the succeeding generations of neighbouring states of India not excepting the State of Punjab.

Passing through various chequered phases, the Punjab painting in all its kaleidoscopic forms, colours and themes comes to a stage when it merges itself with the incoming influences of Western painting, technique and style which had already been introduced in Punjab by several European artists[58] such as Von Orlich, Theodore Shoeft, Emily Eden, etc. A vivid account of these foreigners relating to the court life and pageantry is preserved in the literary as well as visual documents left by them in Indian and foreign museums like India Office Library and British Museum, London.[59] Some of the local artists adopted the alien medium happily, and some others under heavy pressure for a livelihood. Then some artists painted whatever they were commissioned to do by the British government officers, European travellers, or any ambitious adventurers. The themes which started from royal portraits, court scenes, nobles and other Sikh sirdars, along with the sets of Sikh Gurus came as low as the topics of low-caste and down-trodden people of the society. The drawings, sketches and paintings at the fag end of the century reflected the mood of the society in which the painting had lost its importance. This phenomenon was the harbinger of new light and shade symbolic of New World—the Victorian snobbery.

(b) RELATIONSHIP TO SOCIAL SETTING

It is of very vital importance to study the relationship between the artist and the society in which he worked in the nineteenth century Punjab, as it has given rise to other social questions which need probing in macro and micro-historical ways. These questions are significant from sociological angle of development of themes in Punjab painting. The life pattern of the artists who constituted the bulk of these belonged to Chughtai, Brahmin, goldsmith, carpenter and weaver classes. Carpenter class, which is better known as Ramgarhia community, also contributed a lot to the growth and development of painting in all its aspects in Punjab apart from the other multifarious activities of social growth in the national mainstream of India. Prof W.H. Macleod[60] has discussed in fuller detail the genesis and character traits of this community in his brilliant paper, "Ahluwalias and Ramgarhias: Two Sikh Castes". The members of these ethnic groups depended on their patrons who were mostly the

royal despots, big zamindars, and other feudal elements. They were always at the mercy of the patrons for maintenance and survival. Y. Kuzmenko[61] a prominent art historian of Soviet Union has remarked as follows:

> In due course, art turned to images of kings, generals and other rulers "of the people" in so far as they were supposed to have immediate self-sufficiency and the means of impressing the stamp of their individuality on the course of world events.

Hence, they were engaged with the express purpose to glorify the personality of their masters before the masses, irrespective of the inhibitions of their own social groups and canventions of the society they lived in. It goes without saying that the output of these artists conformed with the social and historical forces which were dominant in that era, and which in a way moulded the destiny of the national events not excepting the field of painting in nineteenth century Punjab plains. Dr Ernst Kris,[62] a noted psycho-analyist of Austria and America, has remarked:

> Historical and social forces shape the function of art in general and more specially that of any given medium in any given historical setting, determining the frame of reference in which creation is enacted.

However, although several scholarly studies are coming out these days, artists' relationship to social setting has not been dealt with seriously. But it is so very important for the complete assessment of artist's working surroundings *vis-a-vis* his performance. How he reconciles his sentiments and emotions with royal behaviour and attitude is worth studying. These persons who did so much to glorify the grandeur of the kings and queens of Punjab, never enjoyed the status that Mughal artists did during the Akbar era. It has been seen that after the collapse of royal courts these artists, who once created the masterpieces of Punjab painting under the inspiration of Pahari Mughal painting, gave up the classic tradition for what might be termed as Sikh School of Painting. W.G. Archer[63] once remarked:

> The poetic charm of Kangra and Rajasthani painting, its great artistic qualities, its human and emotional appeal as well as its reliance on poetic symbolism have been emphasised and, as a result, a much larger public than ever before has come to understand and value this expression of the Indian genius.

Again we find ourselves faced with the basic question of the artist's status in the social setting in which he worked. The problem of his bread was hardly solved and he had to be contented with the paltry sum he was paid by the court. It is a pity that these artists who did beautiful paintings for the big kingdoms of Punjab had to loiter far and wide in search of alternative patrons in the neighbouring areas. No guaranteed assignment was given to them as was done in the case of Mughal ateliers. Some tolerable consideration existed in the court of Sansar Chand Katoch of Kangra, whose painters produced the world-famous pictures bringing down the heavenly beauty to earth. Dr Charles Fabri[64] has described it thus:

> The large and dreaming eyes, the small red lips, the admirable fingers, the feminine curves of the breasts, the long and luscious hair, all sing of the beauty in woman, the age-old ideal of Indian womanhood, glorified ever since Indian art existed from the third century B.C.

The artist, who executed the sublime and the supreme, suffered economic privations and their heirs never continued this profession. The descendants have been found engaged in other vocations just for a living. This pathetic state of affairs of artists is depicted with genuine agony by Fakir Sayyid Aijjazuddin,[65] a distinguished Pakistani scholar of Indian art and a descendant of Fakir Azizuddin and Nuruddin of the court of Ranjit Singh at Lahore, in the following terms:

They cannot explain how a small minority of not over-educated persons, working in conditions of discomfort for petty and often capricious patrons, should have been able to produce such entrancing works of art, magical in their appeal and sufficiently seductive to hold captive the devoted attention of . . .

The only exception which has come to our notice is that of Chughtai family which enjoyed respectable status in the times of Ranjit Singh and even after. Their ancestor Mian Salah Mimar (Pl. I) held an important position in the Lahore Durbar; his descendant Abdur Rehman Chughtai (died 1975) (Pl. II, III) was a renowned artist of this India-Pakistan continent, His two brothers Dr M. Abdullah Chughtai and M. Abur Rahim Chughtai are art historians and art critics of very high order. Family tradition of following the profession of an artist is being carried out ouly by the son of Abdur Rahim Chughtai in Lahore. Nevertheless, Arif Rehman Chughtai, illustrious son of Abdur Rehman Chughtai, is propagating the creative activity of his father through a Chughtai Museum Trust in Lahore of which he is the director. Their remotest ancestor Ustad Ahmed Mimar, designer, architect and *mimar* worked for Emperor Shahjehan and built Taj Mahal, Red Fort and Jama Masjid of Delhi.[66]

In fact, it is an irony of fate that the artist's life was never protected under any state law. Once he finished painting, and was paid, his work was over for ever. No such document, historical or visual, is available to us to prove that he was ever given a niche in the general fabric of society of which his patron appropriated the lion' s share. Social status of the artists in the socialist countries is enviable where they enjoy the full benefits of life compared to any other person from any walk of life. Any artist there is the artist of the people. People love his works and pay maximum for his creative activities. There is a continuous mutual dialogue between the artist and his audience there which is absent here. Why is it today, after over a century or so, that nothing remains of the artist except the paintings in which his best creative genius had been enshrined commemorating the dramatis personae—Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh's family, his courtires, sardars, nobles and other aristocratic families? A few paintings are available in the Chandigarh Museum, Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, National Museum, New Delhi, Punjab State Archives, Patiala, Golden Temple Museum, Amritsar, Lahore Museum, Chughtai Museum Trust, Lahore, but the cream has gone out to England[67] and America through the descendants of English officers who were in direct control of Punjab administration after the annexation in 1849, secondly, through smugglers who are out to make money by sending these remaining miniatures to foreign museums. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, India Office Library and Records, London, possess our choicest miniature paintings done in Punjab plains, which is the cultural heritage of the land of five rivers.

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9. Miniatures relating to various forms of cult of Devi (Durga) from serial No. 1 to 56 under different heads published in *Bharat Kala Bhavan ka Suchipatra* (Hindi), Bk. S. 2002 (Varanasi: Kashi Nagari Pracharani Sabha), pp. 47-68.
10. Dr. Hiranand Shastri, *Indian Pictorial Art as Developed in Book Illustrations* (Baroda: Gaikwad Oriental Series, No. 1, 1936), p. 13.
11. Dr. M.S. Randhawa, "Two Punjabi Artists of Nineteenth Century: Kehar Singh and Kapur Singh", in *Chhavi*, Golden Jubilee No. of Bharat Kala Bhavan (Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, 1971), pp. 67-69.
12. John Martin Horniberger, *Thirty Five Years in the East, Adventures, Discoveries, Experiments, Historical Sketches relating to Punjab and Kashmir, Pictures of Rajas of Punjab*, 2 Vols., 1852.
13. Cf. supra Note No. 11 in Chapter I.
14. Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, "Punjab's Contribution to Indian Culture", in *The Sunday Tribune*, 12 February 1978.
15. W. Foster, "Some Foreign European Artists in India", in *Bengal Past and Present* (July-December 1930), XL, 79-98.
16. Emily Eden, *Portrait of the Princes and People of India 1844* (London and Up the Country, 1866).
17. Mildred Archer, *Company Drawings in India Office Library* (London: HMSO, 1972), Plate 72, p. 210.
18. (a) *Oriental Miniatures and Illustrations*, Bulletin No. 10, Vol. III (Part 2) (London: Maggs Bros. Ltd., 1966), pp. 93-104.
    (b) *Ibid.*, Bulletin No. 11, Vol. III (Part 3) (London: Maggs Bros. Ltd., 1967), pp. 166, 170-171.
    (c) *Ibid.*, Bulletin No. 23, Vol. VII (Part 2) (1975), pp. 138-140.
19. Vincent A. Smith, *A History of the Fine Arts in India and Ceylon* (Oxford, 1911), pp. 223-224.
20. Percy Brown, *Indian Painting* (Calcutta, 1917), p. 56.
21. See supra Note 18, Maggs Bros. *Bulletin* No. 10, Vol. III, Part 2, p. 98; No. 11, Vol. III, Part 3, p. 170; No. 23, Vol. VII, Part 2, p. 134.
22. K.C. Aryan, *Hundred Years' Survey of Punjab Painting* (New Delhi: Rekha Publications, 1977), pp. 33-37.
23. T.N. Mukerjee, *Art Manufacture of India*, 1888 (Calcutta: reprinted, 1974; New Delhi: Navrang Publishers), p. 19.
24. B.H. Baden Powell, *Handbook of Manufacture and Arts of Punjab* (Lahore: Punjab Printing Co., 1872), pp. 347-48.
25. Dr. Charles Louis Fabri, "Subject and Form—A Mistaken Criterion in Art History and Criticism", in *Design* (Annual) No. L.5, No. 9, September 1961, pp. 137-141. Late Fabri was an eminent Hungarian Indologist who lived for major part of his life in India teaching, writing and devoting his time with Archaeological Survey of India. He was the pupil of Dr. J.Ph. Vogel, then Superintendent of Northern Circle (Hindu and Buddhist) in 1910. Then Dr. Fabri accompanied Sir Auriel Stein in several important archaeological expeditions to Central Asia. Then, before partition of India in 1947 he was Curator of Central Museum, Lahore, finally settled in India. Married to late Ratna Mathur Fabri. Author of several hundred scholarly papers and books on various aspects of Indian art, especially sculpture and architecture.
26. Dr. Charles Louis Fabri, "The Message of Indian Monuments", in *Design* (Monthly) November 1964 Issue, Reprinted in 1978, pp. 1, 14.
27. Vincent A. Smith, *A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon* (Bombay: D.B. Taraporewala & Sons, 1969), p. 191, and Niccolao Manucci, *Storia do Mogor* (1653-1708) or Moghul India, 11-17.
28. Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, "Specimens of Paintings under the Sikhs", in *Marg*, Vol. X, No. 2, March, 1957, p. 43.
29. Artist Hari Singh belonged to the early generation of artists of nineteenth century. In old age he worked laboriously at his studio near Khoti Hatta adjacent to Municipal Committee Office, Amritsar. He gave me some information about Sikh artists of Punjab. Alas, he died in 1970.
30. I have seen these drawings, sketches and paintings with Shri Gurucharan Singh, last surviving descendant of court artist Kehar Singh, now living in Amritsar in Guru Ram Dass Serai Road, who very kindly showed me a valuable collection of his ancestor's treasured paintings. He has, however, disposed of almost all in the course of time to dealers or connoisseurs of art.
31. This information was given to me by late Hari Singh, artist of Amritsar, during 1967 and 1968 when I was collecting details regarding the Sikh artists of nineteenth-century Punjab. Artist Thakur Lal Singh illustrated M.A. Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion: Its Gurus, Sacred Writings and Authors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1909).
32. The information regarding the Rajasthani artists was first given to me by Dr. B.N. Goswamy of Punjab University, Chandigarh, then, by Shri Ramji Das, Flour Mill Owner, Sirhindi Bazar, Patiala, whose ancestors came to Patiala from Rajasthan and worked at several places including Nabha and Sangrur etc.
33. Guleri painters, viz., Biba and Keru, worked at Patiala in the middle of nineteenth century as mentioned by Dr. B.N. Goswamy in the course of private discussion on March 2, 1973.
34. This set of Sikh Gurus in Gulerian style can be seen in the Sheesh Mahal Art Gallery and Museum (Old Moti Bagh Palace), Patiala.
35. This painting depicting the procession scene of Narinder Singh is also exhibited in the same museum.
36. Cf R.P. Srivastava, "Patronage of Fine Arts under the Sikh Rulers of Punjab", in *The Sikh Courier*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Spring-Summer, 1973), London, Plate 2, p. 7. This painting is in the collection of India Office Library and Records, London (U.K.) from where I obtained a copy with grateful thanks.
37. *Annual Report of India Office Library and Records*

(London: Foreign & Commonwealth Office, 1974), p. 83.

38. These portraits are now in the collection of Government Museum, Chandigarh.
39. Vide private communications from late Sant Parkash Singh dated 11.9.1969 from Mussoorie (U.P.), 12.2.71 and 19.2.1971 from V. & P.O. Allawalpur, District Jullundur (Punjab). Born in 1898 Sant Parkash Singh was the first Indian to be appointed Inspector-General of Police after the partition of Punjab in 1947. He was a man of varied tastes, especially the fine arts. He kept this treasure at Delhi, Karnal and Allawalpur. He died on 17 August 1972. I am deeply indebted to him for valuable information.
40. Cf. R.P. Srivastava, "Kapur Singh: A Nineteenth Century Figurative Artist of Punjab", in *The Sikh Review*, Vol. XIX (October 1971), No. 215, pp. 29-33.
41. Prof. K.A. Nizami, *Presidential Address* (Medieval Section), Punjab History Conference, Patiala, 1970, pp. 4-7.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
43. Guru Nanak was followed by Angad (second Guru) 1539-1552, Amar Dass (third Guru) 1552-1574, Ram Dass (fourth Guru) 1574-1581, Arjun (fifth Guru) 1581-1606, Hargovind (sixth Guru) 1606-1645, Har Rai (seventh Guru) 1645-1661, Har Kishan (eighth Guru) 1661-1664, Tegh Bahadur (ninth Guru) 1664-1675, Govind Singh (tenth Guru) 1675-1708.
44. S. Mohammad Latif, *History of Punjab*, op. cit., p. 246.
45. A.K. Majumdar, *Elements of Indian Culture* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1972), p. 35.
46. Rene Grousset, *The Sum of History*, p. 99.
47. R.P. Srivastava, "Inventory of Punjab Frescos", in A.I.I.S. *News Letter*, Summer 1977, New Delhi. See also Appendix A.
48. Dr. Herman Goetz, *The Crisis of Indian Civilization in Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1938), p. 15.
49. O.C. Gangoli, *Critical Catalogue of Miniature Paintings in the Baroda Museum* (Baroda: Museum and Picture Gallery, 1961), p. 3.
50. Dr. Herman Goetz, "The Animal in Indian Art", in *German Scholars on India*, Vol. I (Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1973), p. 83.
51. Dr. A.K. Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting* (Oxford University Press, 1976; New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1976 reprinted), p. 25.
52. E. Vredenberg, "The Continuity of Pictorial Tradition in the Art", *Rupam*, No. 1, January and April, 1920, pp. 6-11.
53. Dr. Hiranand Shastri, *Indian Pictorial Tradition as Developed in Book Illustrations* (Baroda: Baroda State Department of Archaeology, 1936), p. 29. Dr. Hiranand Shastri had worked as epigraphist with Dr. J.Ph. Vogel, the then Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle, with Headquarters in Simla and Lahore during the early part of 1910.
54. Uttam Singh Rao and S.S. Dosanjh, "A Dated Janam Sakhi of Guru Nanak", in *Roop-Lekha*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 1, pp. 7-12.
55. I am extremely grateful to Prof. Pritam Singh, Head of the Department of Guru Nanak Dev Studies, G.N.D. University, Amritsar, for allowing me to photograph the miniatures of his Janam Sakhi.
56. India Office Library and Records' communication No. FL2/PS/41 dated 28 July 1977 to me giving the information about this *Janam Sakhi* and others. I am indebted to the authorities of I.O.L. for assistance in this work.
57. *Janam Sakhi*, P.U. Chandigarh (Acc. No. 759); *Janam Sakhi* (Acc. Nos. 179 and 231 of New Moti Bagh Palace Library, Patiala); *Janam Sakhi* (Acc. No. 2512 of Central Sikh Museum, Golden Temple, Amritsar) are worth seeing to assess the various phases of development of manuscript illustration in Punjab.
58. Anthony Farrington, *Sir William Foster, 1863-1951* (A Bibliograhy) (London: HMSO, 1972), pp. 2, 14-24.
59. Sir William Foster, "Some Foreign European Artists in India", in *Bengal Past and Present*, XL, 1930, Calcutta, pp. 79-98. Cf. his "British Artists in India (1760-1820)", in *The Walpole Society*, XIX, 1931, Oxford, pp. 1-88, 12 pl, also by the same author, "Additional Notes to British Artists in India (1760-1820)", in *ibid.*, XXI, 1933, pp. 108-9.
60. Dr. W.H. Mcleod, "Ahluwalias and Ramgarhias: Two Sikh Castes", in *Journal of South Asian Studies*, No. 4, October 1976, pp. 78-90, see especially p. 88.
61. Y. Kuzenko, "Art and Socialism", in *Socialism and Culture* (Moscow: Progress Publishers).
62. Ernst Kris, *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art* (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), p. 21.
63. Dr. W.G. Archer, "British Contributions to the Study of Indian Art", in *Cultural Forum*, Vol. IV, No. 1, October 1961, p. 91.
64. Dr. Charles L. Fabri, "An Outline History of Indian Painting—III", in *Cultural Forum*, Vol. IV, No. 1, October 1961, p. 91.
65. F.S. Aijazuddin, *Pahari Paintings and Sikh Portraits in the Lahore Museum* (London: Southeby Parke Bernet, 1977), p. xxiii. See also F.S. Waheeduddin's *The Real Ranjit Singh* (Karachi: Lion Art Press, 1963), p. 121.
66. Muhammad Abur Rehman Chughtai, *Lahore ka Dabistan Mussavari* (Urdu) (Lahore, 1979), pp. 32, 39, 89-94.
67. (a) Mildred Archer, *Company Drawings in India Office Library* (London: HMSO, 1972), p. 210. Augustorn W. Honner who was the first Grenadier, Bombay, in 1865, got made several paintings by native artist Kapur Singh. Honner's collection was acquired by India Office Library, through his relatives.
    (b) *Ibid.*, p. 227. Sir Herbert Edwardes, who served in Punjab and North Western Frontier Province from 1840 to 1866, took away the paintings which were ultimately given to India Office Library by his descendants.
    (c) Magg Bross, Oriental Miniatures and Illuminations, Bulletin No. 1966, London, Fig. Nos. 93-105 relate to the paintings and sketches of Kapur Singh of Amritsar in the latter part of nineteenth century.
    (d) Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon* (Oxford, 1911), Figs. 223, 224, also refer to

the pictures as stated in (b) and (c) above.

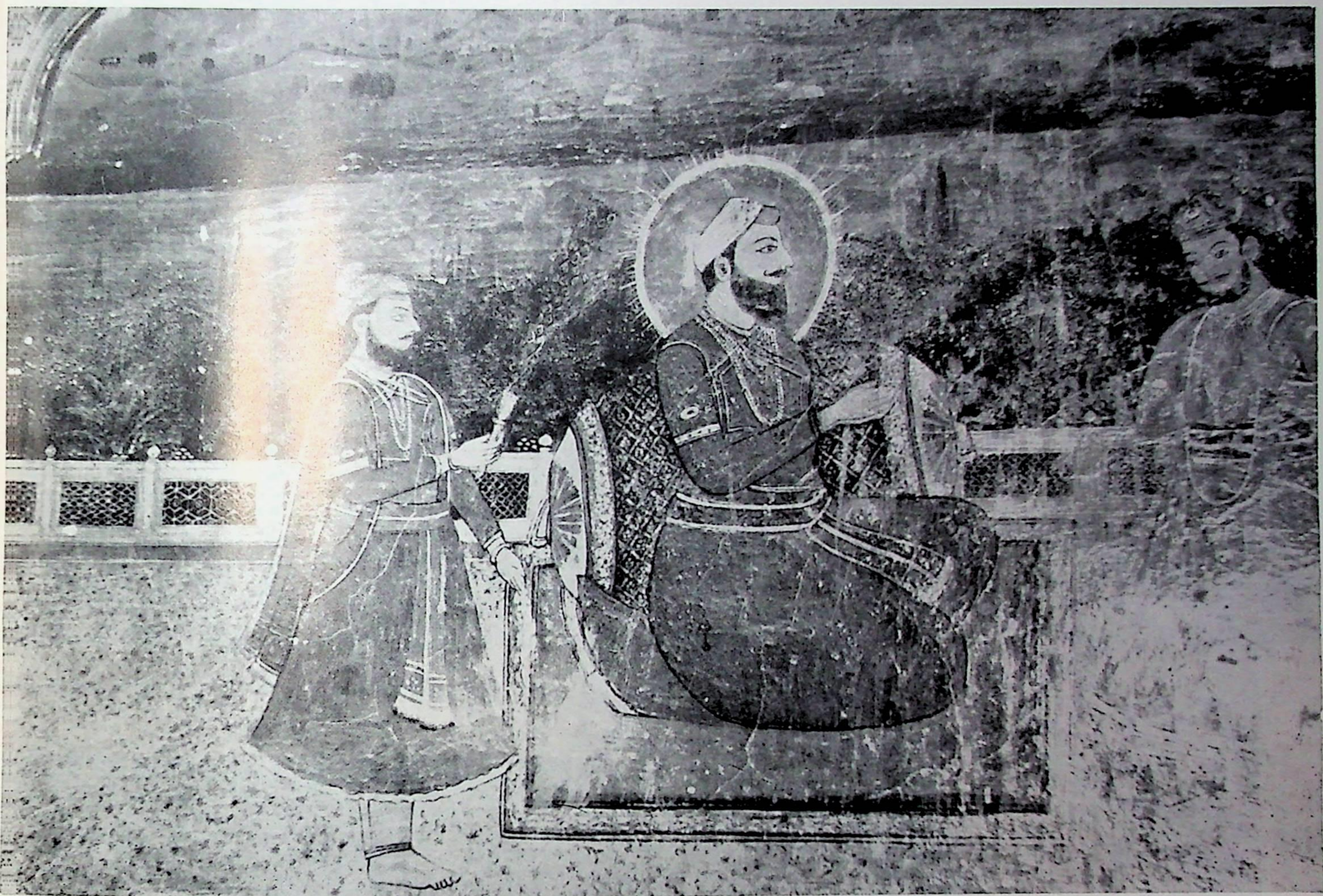
(e) Dr. W.G. Archer, *Paintings of the Sikhs* (London: HMSO, 1966), pp. ix-xvi mentions the following collection where the paintings from Punjab plains are preserved: (1) Mr. and Mrs. T.W.F. Scott Collection, (2) Victoria and Albert Museum, London, (3) British Museum, London, (4) P.C. Manuk and G.M. Coles Collection, London, (5) Miss A.E. Anson Collection, Chiswick London and (6) J.C. French Collection in Victoria and Albert Museum, London, and Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.



31. Vishnu's Machhavatar, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.



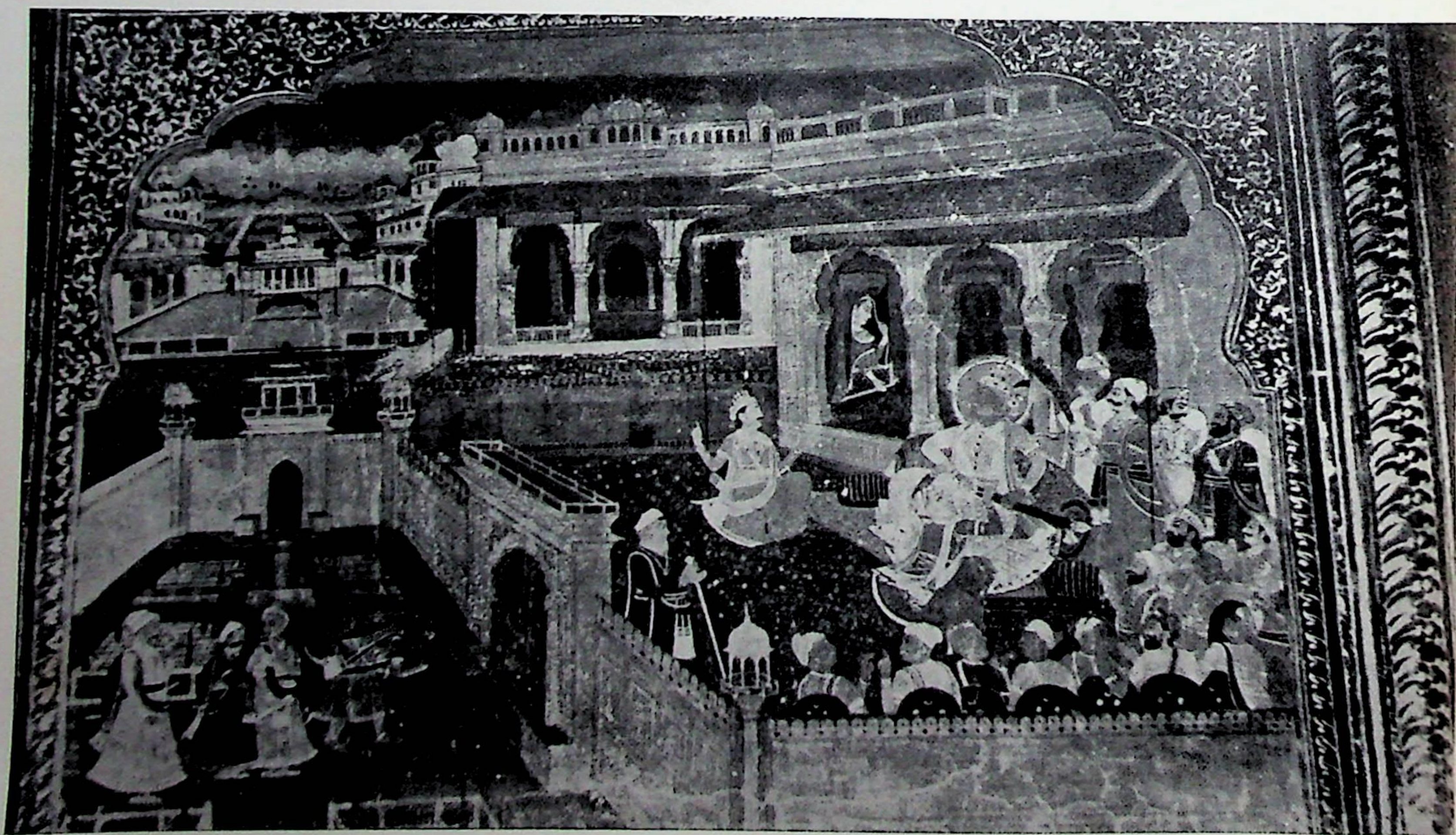
32. Maharaja Amar Singh, 19th century, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.



33. Guru Tegh Bahadur, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.

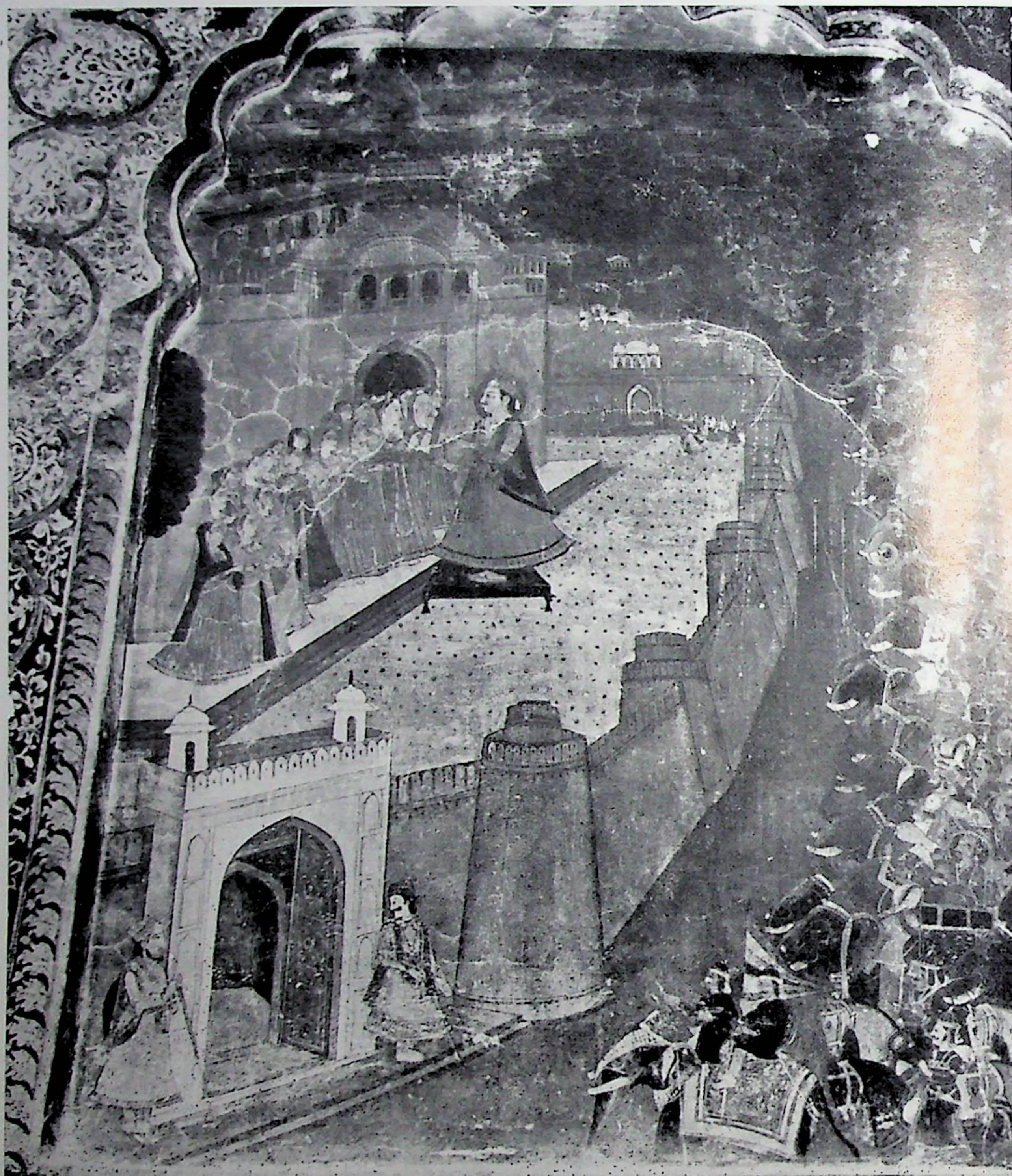
34. Guru Gobind Singh, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.

35. Some court scene, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.

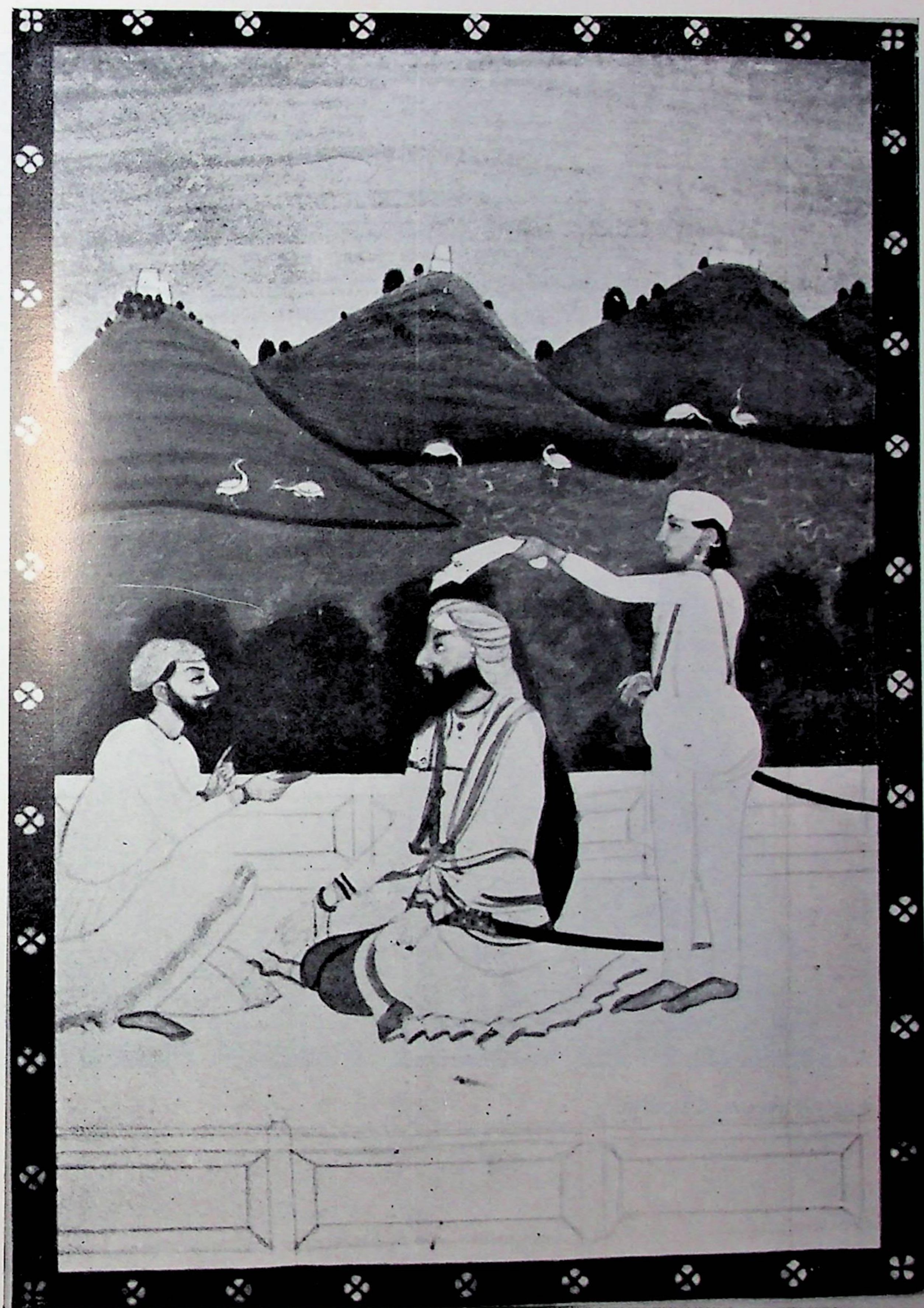




36. Sudama reaching the fort of his friend Krishna, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.



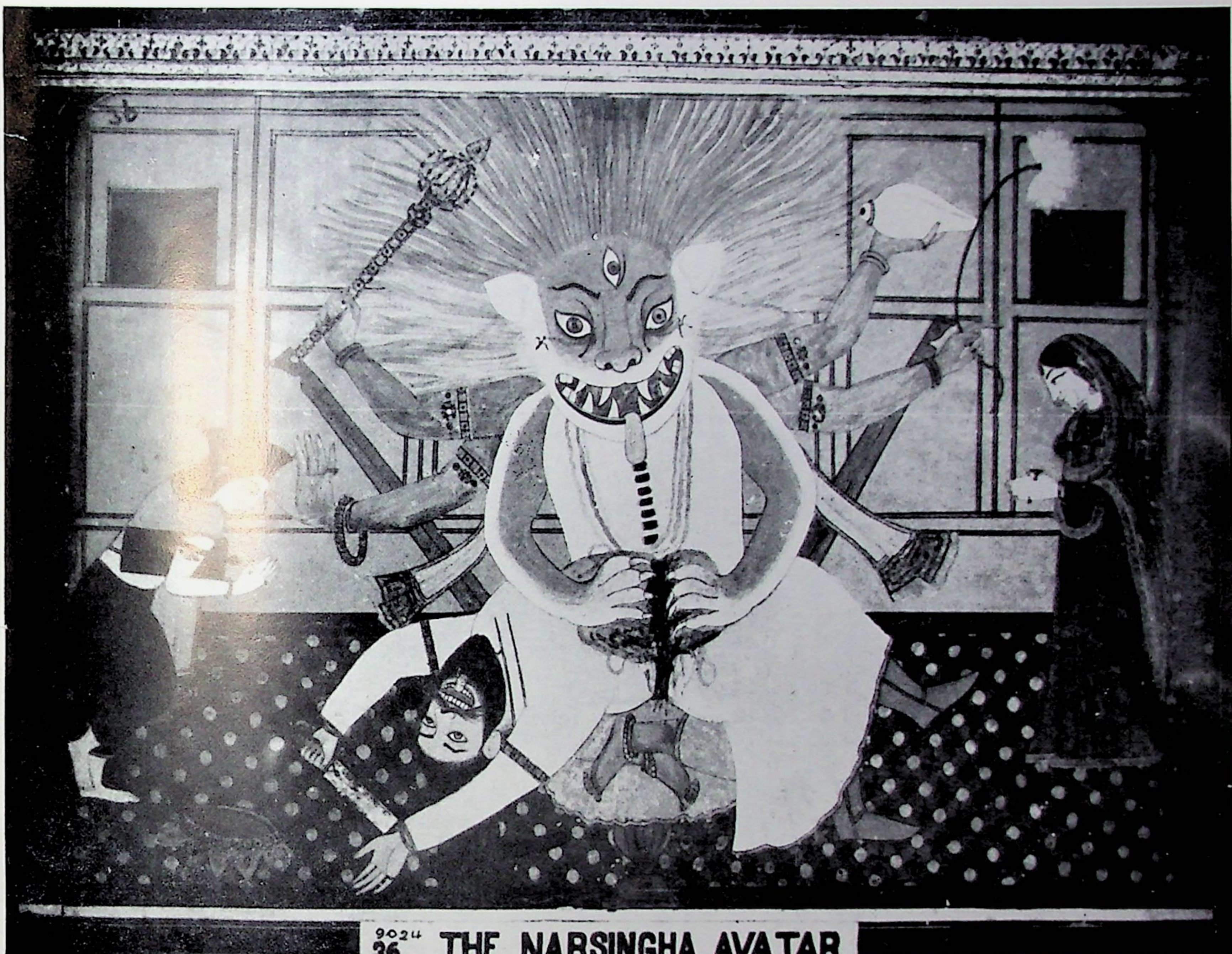
37. Maharaja meeting the Ranis, Qila Mubarak, Patiala.



38. Raja Dhyan Singh, British Museum, London (UK).



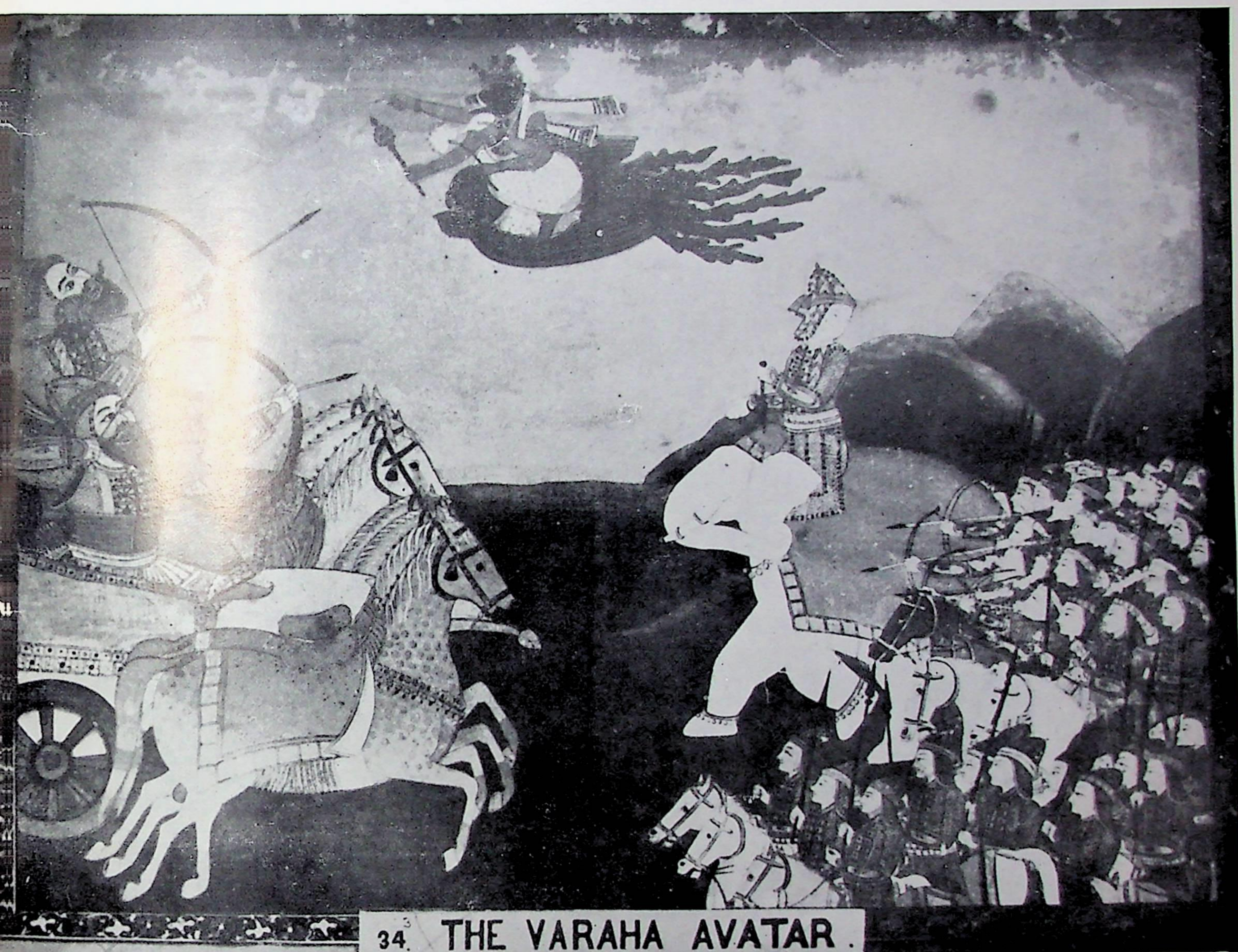
39. Vamanavatar, Indian Museum, Calcutta.



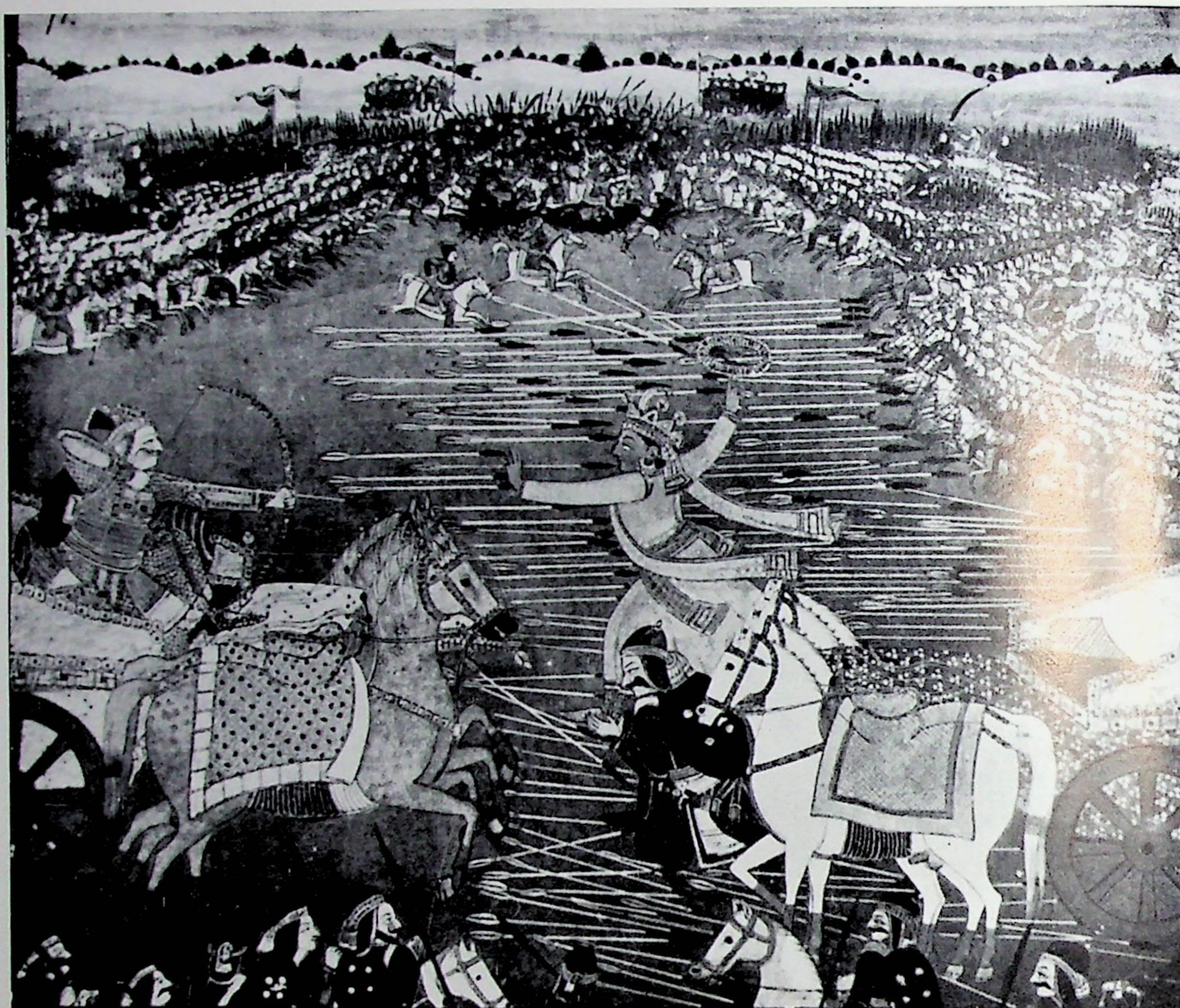
40. Narsinghavatar, Indian Museum, Calcutta.



41. Sita in captivity in Asok Vatika, Indian Museum, Calcutta.



42. Varahavatar, Indian Museum, Calcutta.



43. Great Battle of Kurukshetra, Indian Museum, Calcutta.



44. Maharaja Karam Singh of Patiala (1798-1845), India Office Library, London (UK).

45. Maharaja Mahinder Singh of Patiala, Punjab Government Archives, Patiala.

46. The procession of Maharaja Narendra Singh (1845-1862) of Patiala. ↓





47. Maharaja Narendra Singh of Patiala, 19th century.

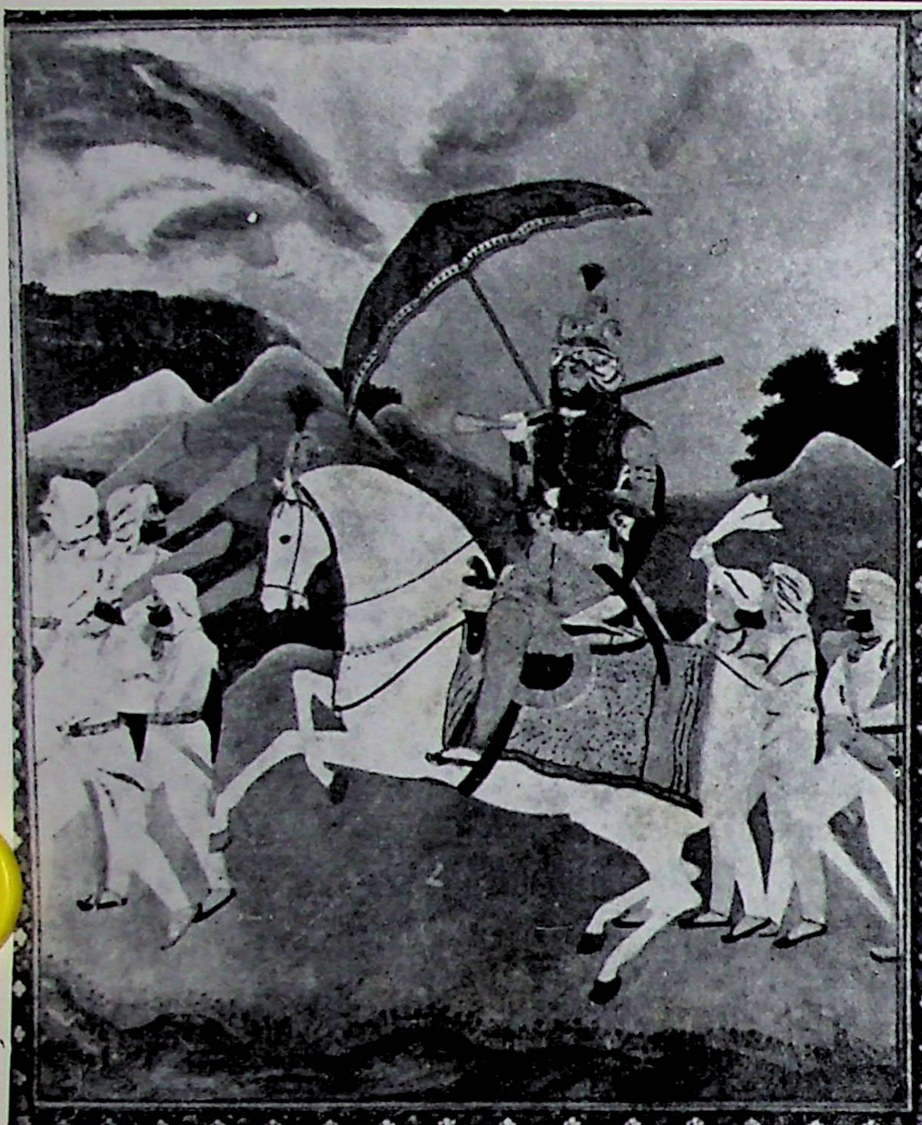


48. Giani Gurmukh Singh, 19th century, Central Sikh Museum, Amritsar.



49. Ajaib Singh of Tarn Taran, 19th century, Government Museum, Chandigarh.

50. Maharaja Dalip Singh, 19th century, India Office Library, London. ↓





51. Raja Dhian Singh on horseback, 19th century, ↑
India Office Library, London.

52. Maharaja Kharak Singh, 19th century,
Central Sikh Museum, Amritsar.



55. Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1799-1839), 19th century, Lahore, →
Government Museum, Amritsar.



53. Rani Sada Kaur of Ranjit Singh, 19th century, Central Sikh Museum, Amritsar.

54. Court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 19th century, Government Archives, Patiala.



57. Raja Devinder Singh of Nabha, 19th century, India Office Library, London.



56. Raja Jaswant Singh of Nabha, 19th century, India Office Library, London.



58. Hazrat Mian Mir (1550-1635) with his disciples, 19th century, Patiala Sheesh Mahal Art Gallery, Patiala.





59. Raja Bharpur Singh (1838-1863) of Nabha ↑
with an artist, 19th century,
Sheesh Mahal Art Gallery, Patiala.

60. Maharaja Narendra Singh (1845-1862)
19th century, Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.



62. Faqir S. Nurud-ud-din, 19th century,
Faqir Khana Museum, Lahore (Pakistan). →



61. Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) riding his favourite Leila, 19th century, Fakir Khana Museum, Lahore (Pakistan).

CHAPTER IV



PATRONS AND ARTISTS

(a) PRINCIPAL CENTRES OF PAINTING

ANY discussion on the historical study of painting and its relative role as a cultural denominator in the development of style in Punjab, postulates necessary follow up of relations between the patron and artist which existed in the nineteenth century. Without such a study our treatment of Punjab painting in all its facets will remain incomplete. Like any other aspect of human endeavour, rulers of the princely states of Punjab tried to imitate the working style of the mighty emperors of India. General administration, security provisions, dispensation of justice, construction of forts and palaces, etc., had been copied from elsewhere. Likewise, the feudal lords of Punjab headed in the same direction of employing the artists for decorating the palaces, making their portraits, and recording their family events in albums of miniatures. When, once these artists were appointed, some sort of rapport had been established between the two. Obviously, the artist could not live without his patron, and, likewise, the patron could not do without the artist as the latter had to commemorate, and beautify his patron's life in several ways. It has been a constant human weakness of rulers to see their resemblance recorded in visual as well as literary form. There has been a historic continuity in developing such a tradition in cultural epochs of the civilised nations of the world.[1] Cultural heritage of Punjab in particular, and India in general speak volumes of instances in support of this assertion. Right from the period of recorded history in India until today, this pattern of patron-artist relationship has been in existence, and, it continues even today in some form or other. The only difference between patrons of the past and present is that the former was a king and that present one is a big businessman or the government established by law.

Nineteenth-century Punjab, therefore, saw several changes in the social, political and cultural fields. Ranjit Singh was the dominating personality in Lahore area with the entire Hill princes under his suzerainty. Sansar Chand of Kangra ultimately accepted former's authority in his state. Then the Cis-Sutlez chiefs of Punjab such as Kapurthala, Patiala, Jind and Kalsia, apprehending usurpation of their territories by Ranjit Singh, obtained guarantees from the British government against any nefarious designs of his.[2] Then only these Punjab chiefs were in a position to run their administration peacefully. Every Punjab state had a British resident in its territory to liaise with British as well as other Punjab chiefs. Thus, British officers used to send massages of loyalty or revolt to the Governor-General or Secretary of State.

S.N. Das Gupta in 1922,[3] Dr A.K. Coomaraswamy in 1927,[4] W.G. Archer in 1952,[5] Lubor Hajek in 1960,[6] Khushwant Singh in 1966,[7] tried to locate the main centres of painting in Punjab plains in the cities of Lahore and Amritsar in a casual way. But in 1969 Dr B.N. Goswamy[8] dwelt on the question

of patronage of painting after acquainting himself with new centres like Patiala, Kapurthala, Jind, Nabha etc. But, most prominent among these were Lahore, Patiala and Kapurthala, Lahore being the ancient metropolis from the first centuries of Christian era[9] until the reign of Mughals and then followed by Sakerchakia misl ruler Ranjit Singh, was a centre of throbbing trade and a nucleus of cultural activities. The most important reason for the fame of Lahore city was that it lay on the trade route to Central Asia, Afghanistan and other Middle-Eastern countries. Several families and descendants of families of note belonging to Afghanistan and Iran lived in Lahore.[10] Hence, when Ranjit Singh became the master of Lahore on 7 July 1799, with the help of his mother-in-law Mai Sada Kaur and Mohkam Din, he inherited rich and fabulous cultural heritage from his predecessors. He started with shrewd statesmanship to consolidate his position in spite of many rebellious elements. Notwithstanding his multifarious political, diplomatic and court duties as well as military campaigns and other activities, he did not ignore the aspect of maintaining a royal atelier at the Lahore Durbar. However, contemporary primary sources of history in English do not shed much light on this important aspect of life of this period, except casual references by visiting dignitaries. Yet latest researches of the twentieth-century scholars[11] have proved that there were Pahari artists at the court.[12] Even before the conquest of Lahore by Ranjit Singh, this capital city was a throbbing centre of art activity in all spheres of life. Designers of high quality, talented calligraphers, creative book-binders, artists of eminence and skill worked side by side. Mostly they worked in the form of Kashnamihs Guilds and rapport of *ustad-shagird* (teacher-pupil relation) was established.[13] This tradition beginning in the eighth century continued till the close of the nineteenth century when the British impact disturbed the whole indigenous genius and skill altogether. It reached its zenith in the Mughal period when Lahore was the second capital after Agra, to keep a watchful eye on the north-west frontier provinces together with Kashmir. Dr Muhammad Abdullah Chughtai has given a graphic survey of various branches of fine arts, i.e., painting, *kashi* work, *gach* work and artistic calligraphy etc., of Punjab in his monumental book.[14] It takes us from one realm of creative art to another during the entire range of Muslim rule in Punjab. This also confirms our thesis that the art of painting flourished even before Ranjit Singh became the master of Lahore. He thus inherited a rich cultural heritage at the time of his conquest. Like Ranjit Singh, his courtiers, ministers and nobles constructed their residences (*havelis*) and temples and got them tastefully decorated with paintings from Vaishnavite mythological themes (Plates 20-29). Apart from Hindu and Sikh religious denominations of nineteenth century Punjab, Muslim religious places like mosques, mausoleums and *majars* were also embellished with flowers, foliage and beautiful calligraphic rendering of *ayats* in Arabic from the *Holy Quran*. Prominent among them are the Badshahi Mosque (built by Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir) and Mosque of Wazir Khan (built by Nawab Wazir Khan of Lahore of Jehangir's reign). Both are at Lahore and preserve the best traditions in artistic calligraphy on architectural monuments of Punjab. Lahore was, and still is, full of temples, mosques and mausoleums from ancient past to the present. Artists, like poets, musicians and dancers, were important figures in this grand pageant of the east.[15] They recorded the dignified courtiers at the court, the Maharaja's riding scene, Sikh sardars, scenes of meeting foreign ministers, scenes of fighting with lion—especially of Hari Singh Nalwa killing a lion. This scene of chivalry was painted by the able painter Pandit Bihari who accompanied the party of Ranjit Singh and Hari Singh Nalwa. This painting was later presented to Dr Baron Hugel,[16] the German medicalman of that time. After the death of Ranjit Singh, painting flourished in the times of Sher Singh[17] (1841-48) with full vigour. But what followed after is a melancholy story of the steady decline of cultural heritage of the Lahore kingdom. F.S. Aijazuddin's[18] concluding remarks in the introduction of his book serve the purpose of an epitaph:

> For the nineteenth century miniature painters, there was nothing left to do but to eke out an existence by making facile, salable likenesses. Newer artists merely stammered what their predecessors had sung, copied what their forebears had created, but failed to infuse into their work that additional dimension of passionate originality which had distinguished Pahari paintings.

After Lahore Amritsar city occupied the envious place as a centre of painting in the whole of the region. K.C. Aryan, artist-writer, has given the philosophical account of this city:[19]

> One of the most fascinating cities of northern India, Amritsar is also one of the most ancient and legendary sites in the Punjab. According to popular belief—which is doubtless of local origin—Valmiki wrote his celebrated epic, the *Ramayan*, near around this hallowed site of the "Pool of Nectar". It was here, too, that Sita stayed during the period of *vanvasa* (banishment). Here, again the twin sons of Lord Rama were taught the *Ramayan*. Yet another legend identified the site of this pool with the place where the whole of Lord Rama's army was destroyed by his sons, Lava and Kusha, and relates how at that a jug of nectar descended from heaven to restore the soldiers to life.

Guru Ram Dass made his home by the side of pool in 1574. In 1577 Guru Ram Dass was healing ailing persons with the miraculous water of the pool. There are two very vital reasons behind this. One is the presence of the Golden Temple, another is that it had been a summer capital of Ranjit Singh. He encouraged his courtiers and nobles to settle down at Amritsar, and they constructed majestic *havelis* there. The great Maharaja also invited Marwaris as he had realized that without business activity his kingdom cannot flourish nor cultural developments take place. The third reason, which is of highest importance, is that it was also a commercial town. Apart from being a centre of flourishing business in silk, woollen, dry fruits, ivory works and other handicrafts, Amritsar provided religious peace and tranquillity to hundreds and thousands citizens of the locality as also from outside. Several social and cultural movements started in Amritsar and breathed their last here. It was a great centre of Arya Samaj, Hindu Samaj, Muslim and Akali movements in the whole of Punjab. Amritsar gave birth to several famous painters, writers, philosophers, poets and engineers. Skilled artists (Plates 39-42) and artisans from Kashmir had flocked in Amritsar in 1830 who also made significant contribution to the growth of silk and woollen shawl[20] industry. Kashmir style of painting had also influenced manuscript illumination.[21] Thus, Amritsar was a cultural capital of Ranjit Singh and remained so even after him. Several of its architectural monuments of high artistic merit, like Khalsa College (1892), Golden Temple (1577), Ram Bagh Palace (1818), Durgiana Temple, Clock Tower (1874) and Jama Masjid (1880) etc., perpetuate the aesthetic achievements of the era gone by. Apart from the royal patronage to artists, the city merchants, religious leaders of *Akharas*, other Sikh chiefs[22] and *deras* give lavish patronage to these persons. It is evident from the extant *thakurdwaras*, *shivalas* and *havelis* of big sardars and businessmen of Amritsar which contain beautiful frescos painted by these artists.[23] The artists who worked at Lahore and Amritsar belonged to Hindu, Muslim and Sikh religions. But past record in Indian libraries and museums do not show any evidence of artists except Kapur Singh and Kehar Singh, and it is only recently that some detailed description of these have come to light.[24] Some very significant information along with authentic documentary evidence relating to the artists, calligraphers and *naqqashas* of Punjab of the nineteenth century have come to our notice through Mr Arif Rehman Chughtai of Lahore whose ancestors, viz, Miran Bakhsh, Pir Bakhsh, Ilahi Bakhsh, Muhammad Bakhsh etc. (Pl. VIII) have distinguished themselves as artists, designers, calligraphers and architects in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent right from the rich period of Mughal emperor Shahjahan to the time of downfall of Sikh kingdom of the Lion of Punjab.[25] The creative contribution of these artists who constituted a major bulk of Punjab contingent belonged to Lahore, and a detailed account of their artistic career shall follow in the next section of this chapter. Further detailed information in this regard was available from artist Hari Singh[26] who was the contemporary of all the famous painters of this region. Most of these painters lived in Katra Tarkhana in Amritsar where they mingled and shared happiness and sorrow. Their family bonds were so strong that they rarely went beyond their community bounds for matrimonial alliances. More information regarding the leading artist family of Amritsar was obtained from Hakim Gurcharan Singh, the last surviving descendant of Kehar Singh[27] who worked at the court of Ranjit Singh at Lahore. Critical analysis of these painters is given in the subsequent part of this chapter. The patronage, however, remained changing—from royal courts to British officers of the Punjab after the annexation in 1849, and then big zamindars,

Sikh sardars such as Sandhanwalia of Ranjasansi and Sham Singh Attariwalia, both in Amritsar district. The ancestors of both the families occupied prominent place in the court of Ranjit Singh. Their family residences at both the places have been found to have beautiful frescos. The neighbouring villages in Amritsar district such as Tarn Taran and Khadur Sahib had gurudwaras with painted walls. Sometimes painters worked for religious institutions free of charge. The merchant class also employed these artists in beautifying their large houses and their family *samadhas* (cemeteries) as well as temples.

After Lahore and Amritsar, Kapurthala and Patiala stand out sharply, where the ruling chiefs patronized art and culture of high taste and splendour. Patiala, Jind and Nabha belong to the group of Phulkian states which along with Kalsia and Faridkot were known as Cis-Sutlej states and ruled over the area between Jamuna and Sutlej. The rulers of these states trace their lineage to a common ancestor—Chaudhari Phul of Jaisalmer (Rajasthan).[28]

The founder of Kapurthala, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, rose to importance about the middle of eighteenth century. He fought several bloody wars with Muslim invaders of the time and swarmed the areas from Sutlej to Haryana, Saharanpur, Bagpat (in Meerut) in Uttar Pradesh looting, conquering and advancing and yet he returned to Kapurthala and established his kingdom. He was succeeded by Bhag Singh, followed by Fateh Singh, a contemporary of Ranjit Singh. Like his counterparts in Lahore and Patiala, he was also interested in the construction of buildings of all types and beautiful architectural edifices in the capital town. The principal towns in the state were Kapurthala, Sultanpur and Phagwara.[29]

Kapurthala was ruled successively by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (1718-83), Bhag Singh (brother's son), Fateh Singh (1837), Nihal Singh (1816-52), Randhir Singh (1830-70), Kharak Singh (1850-77), Jagjit Singh (1872). Most of the important architectural beauties of this centre were constructed during the reign of Fateh Singh and Nihal Singh as they were great patrons of art and culture. Painting flourished in the form of miniature painting and book illustrations. Some of the magnificent illustrated manuscripts were found in Patiala in the present century.[30] Also, unrivalled buildings were constructed during the regime of Fateh Singh who was contemporary of Ranjit Singh. Diwan Ram Jas,[31] who held a prestigious office of a senior minister in this state, wrote in 1897 that Fateh Singh Ahluwalia was a lover of Hindu temples and that the following artistic and beautiful temples were constructed during his reign in 1833: temples of Lord Krishna, Lord Shiva, Lord Ram, Lord Ganesh, Sun God, Goddess Durga, Lord Nandji, and Goddess Lakshmi. Apart from these, two more temples were constructed known as temples of Mai Sahiba and Maharani Sahiba.

Thus Kapurthala naturally attracted attention of gifted masons, architects, artists and designers of a high order. Kehar Singh Muswar of Lahore and Amritsar was also patronised by the Kapurthala Durbar in the nineteenth century (*Sohni Mahiwal*, Mss. 140/Persian, Language Department, Punjab, Patiala). Bhai Kishan Singh artist, a close relation of Kehar Singh artist, also worked at Kapurthala.[32] Shalamar Garden with Baradari, Court and Darbar Hall were constructed on the pattern of Chief Court House of Lahore at the cost of eight lakh rupees. It is surrounded by halls of courts, Randhir College, Army Headquarters, Library buildings.[33] Like his predecessor, Nihal Singh was also a keen patron of architecture and many beautiful edifices stand testimony to his taste even to this day.

The next centre of art and cultural activity, after Kapurthala, is Patiala. The city of Patiala was founded by Alah Singh in 1763. Alah Singh, grandson of Chaudhary Phul, was son of Chaudhary Ram Singh.[34] Having assumed the leadership in 1714 after his father's death, he expanded his territories. First of all, his administration was restricted to thirty villages but gradually it extended these limits. And quickly he rose to be a towering leader of the region between Barnala and Patiala, and ultimately became an undisputed personality of Malwa. The origin of the term Malwa has differently been traced. Sardar Kahn Singh, a great encyclopaedist of Patiala, has stated that the area covered by Ludhiana, Ferozepur, Faridkot, Nabha, Jind and Patiala is called Malwa.[35] At first it was a barren desert but due to the blessings of Guru Gobind Singh it became a fertile and smiling land. Late Prof Banerjee traced references to it in *Mahabharata*.[36] This term was in currency long before eighteenth century and it was applied to Cis-Sutlej area. His ancestors Chaudharies Rama and Taloka had helped the tenth Master

Guru Gobind Singh on 2 August 1696 with money and men while the great Guru was in deep distress and, then, the latter had blessed the Phul family with most sincere wishes saying: "Your house is mine".[37] This important and immortal *Hukam-nama*, as it is known among the Sikh circles, is now in the family treasure of the princely house of Patiala. Prominent historians including S.N. Banerjee[38] and Bhai Santokh Singh[39] have traced the origin of Phul family in the hoary past of chivalrous Rajasthan. Baba Alla Singh, as he was known in this area, constructed the fort in the centre of the city in 1763 where his successors Amar Singh (1748-81), Sahib Singh (1772-1813), Karam Singh (1798-1845), Narinder Singh (1845-62), Mohinder Singh (1862-76), Rajinder Singh (1876-1900), Bhupinder Singh (1900-38) and Yadvinder Singh ruled over the vast area of Patiala, Sirhind, Dera Bassi, Chail, Kandaghat, Nalagarh, Narnaul, Mohindergarh, etc., successfully and with great pomp and show, with Patiala as their capital.

Karam Singh paved the way for consolidation of the state on the most majestic pattern of administration, and construction of forts and palaces was started by him on a grand scale. He invited and patronised skilled architects and artists from all directions especially from Rajasthan,[40] with which they had matrimonial connections.[41] Narinder Singh studied Urdu and Persian from Munshi Saadat Ali Sahib, father of Khalifa Sayyad Mohammad Hassan who had continued to be the prime minister in the reigns of Karam Singh, Narinder Singh and Mahendra Singh. Narinder Singh ascended the throne on Magh Badi 6 Samvat 1902 (A.D. 1846) aged twenty-one years.[42] He was a successful administrator, and had a developed aesthetic taste. He had links with the British government, contacts with Lahore Durbar, and had established rapport with Mughal Court.[43] Consequent upon his and his daughter's matrimonial alliance with Rajasthani princes[44] art and architecture was very much influenced by the Rajasthani idiom and technique, and, since, he used to visit Lahore, Banaras and Calcutta, he borrowed fashion and tradition which had chequered roots in the ancient metropolis of Punjab i.e., Lahore. Hence he was a prince of catholic taste, man of cosmopolitan views, a great promoter of fine arts (see footnote 48), benevolent, and just ruler having an open and receptive mind to all religious faiths of his state.[45]

He was not the ruler who was interested only in the expansion of kingdom, but he also looked after other finer aspects of life with full patronage and encouragement given to poets,[46] writers,[47] and artists.[48] Just like Akbar, Narinder also used to listen to religious discourses from the learned pandits and gianis like Brahma Nand, Harjas Rai, Rama Nand, Harbhagatji, Bhais Hakumat Singh, Budh Singh, and Misr Lal Singh. These persons were his *purohits*. They used to narrate and recite *Devi Bhagwat* and *Granth Sahib* alike. An atmosphere of religious places like Vrindavan and Rishikesh was seen and enjoyed during his regime. Bawa Manohar Dass was his *guru* who was always present to counsel him.

It was against this historical and cultural background that the phenomenon of frescos (Plates 14-31), manuscript illustration,[49] painting, literature (religious as well as historical) was profusely produced and translated during the reign of Narinder Singh.[50] Several renowned contemporary authors have left a record of his achievements.[51] Although a brief description of these creative activities has already been given,[52] the latest researches have proved that art and other creative activities continued in Patiala state even after the death of Narinder Singh.[53] His major artistic achievements were Sheesh Mahal Palace with Baradari, Gurudwara Moti Bagh, palace in Bahadurgarh Fort. Narinder Singh shifted from Qila Mubarak and made his residence there whereas some of the royal family members specially the ladies' apartment and Dewan Khana and Assembly Hall remained in Qila Mubarak, located in the heart of the city, which was built by Baba Alla Singh in 1763, the founder of this Phulkian capital.

His successor Rajendra Singh constructed Rajendra Palace (the present Punjab State Government Archives building) in the world famous Botanical Garden known as Baradari Gardens. Bhupinder Singh, who succeeded, shifted to old Moti Bagh palace which he got constructed. It represents the Rajasthani style in planning and construction and is connected with the Sheesh Mahal Palace which was constructed by Narinder Singh in 1847.

Artistic embellishments were continued by the later rulers also. There flourished a formal atelier of Muslim artists known as Patiala gharana whose ancestor Haji Mohd Sharif[54] who had been working in Mayo School of Art, Lahore, now known as National College of Art as an *ustad* of old traditional Indian painting. This was revealed recently by Arif Rehman Chughtai, son of late Abdur Rehman

Chughtai, famous artist of Bengal Renaissance Movement.[55]

In a way, Patiala remained throughout the cradle of Phulkian renaissance from where learning, music and painting travelled to the neighbouring states of Jhind, Nabha and Kalsia. Painters and artists were invited by the neighbouring chiefs on hearing of their reputation there. Hence, these artists became migratory in nature. Famous artists of Lahore and Amritsar, namely: Kehar Singh, Kapur Singh and Kishan Singh worked at Kapurthala and Patiala also.[56] They and their families created immortal specimens of art and bequeathed to us noble visual monuments of civilisations which we cherish as the cultural and historical panorama of Punjab.

(b) PRINCIPAL ARTISTS AND THEIR FAMILIES

We have noted how the art and cultural atmosphere in Punjab drew master craftsmen from all directions and from all religions. This beautiful and creative art activity flourished in Lahore, Amritsar, Kapurthala, and, especially, Patiala as mentioned earlier, and was carried on by hereditary artists from one generation to other according to the tradition of those days. Consequently, special families (*gharanas*) became popular in the areas where they lived and worked. Dwelling lanes and quarters were known after these families as was the case at Lahore and Amritsar. Lahore, the capital town for several centuries, continued even now to be the central place for the artists. The prominent artist families that flourished and actually worked at Lahore either for the Sikh court or for general nobility were: the Chughtai family, Kehar Singh-Kishan Singh family, and Purkhu-Nain Sukh family, etc. Now, we shall take up the contribution made by each family of artists separately.

Before we proceed further, it should be stated that there were two categories of artists working in Punjab, viz, *Naqqashas* and *Musawirs*. They worked independently of each other, in their own sphere, in techniques and styles of their own.

Naqqash, in fact, was a decorator, illuminator and ornamentator of addresses, letter-heads, *nikah-namahs*, *idis*, *janam patris*, and other similar types of documents. Sometimes they were also employed to undertake the illumination of Arabic and Persian manuscripts and sometimes they embellished the specimens of calligraphy. It was not rare that a calligraphist had the additional qualification of an illuminator. The choice of material of *naqqash* is very different from that of *musawir*.

The *musawir* or painter used to draw pictures of animated objects like Musawir Kishan Singh who skilfully portrayed personalities at the Sikh court. Chajju was famous in Amritsar for his pictures of Sikh saints. Imam Bakhsh and Mohd Bakhsh used to observe human beings in the main bazars of Lahore, and, on return to their studio, used to portray them from memory. Then these pictures were either sold to patrons, or fixed in *havelis* and religious places, or gifted to nobles and rajas as mementos.[57]

Let us first discuss the part played by the artists, *naqqash* and *musawirs* of Chughtai family who dominated the whole scene before Ranjit Singh as also the period following his death. The names and contribution of them who executed the paintings and decorated buildings with beautiful frescos had almost gone into oblivion. Only recently some literature has come to light which throws light on the existence and working of Chughtai family artists.[58] It cannot be understood why the scholars of Punjab art history have not dealt with the pivotal role played by these artists. Only official diarist of Ranjit Singh published by Sohan Lal Suri gives us some information in this regard.[59]

Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh Yakdil (father of Maulvi Nur Ahmad Chishti) has given details of the artists who worked in nineteenth century: Mian Nur Mohammad Naqqash, Mohd Amin, Mohd Salah and Abdul Rashid Naqqash resident in Kucha Naqqashan, inside Lahori Mandi, Lahore, in 1845.[60] Mian Ilahi Bakhsh, father of Karim Bakhsh father of Qadir Bakhsh, was a gifted artist resident inside Mochi Gate, Kucha Kazi Khana, Chhatta Dastagir, Lahore.[61]

Mohammad Bakhsh Naqqash and Musawir, Pir Mohammad Musawir, Mohammad Hayat, Jan Mohammad—some of these were associated with Mughal court also;[62] Musawir Ghulam Mohd Naqqash,[63] Mirza Karam Beg, Azim Beg resident inside Mochi Gate were famous portrait painters and Naqqash Mirza Aslam Beg was a member of this family. He was an expert calligraphist besides being an artist.[64]

Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh Yakdil further states that Qadir Bakhsh Naqqash loved him. He kissed the forehead of the Yakdil so that the evil spirits be kept off.[65]

The ancestor of this family was Kazi Lutful-lah whose descendants were gifted artists, designers, calligraphers and *naqqashas* of their times. They hailed from Kabul in the Mughal period and settled in Lahore.[66] They were associated with the Mughal court but, when Sikh regime came up, they were accorded recognition by the Lahore Durbar and, when British rule was established in 1849, they transferred their service to the British. Artists belonging to all religious faiths used to live and work mostly in following *mohallahs* of Lahore:

1. Kharadi Mohallah near Mohallah Rehmat Ullah,
2. Chauhatta Mufti Bakir,
3. Masjid Wazir Khan,
4. Gumti Bazar,
5. Kucha Naqqashan, inside Lahori Mandi,
6. Mohallah Chabuk Sawaran,

which became the nerve centres of hectic artistic activity of these artists, painters and *naqqashas*. The genealogy of Chughtai family artists is given in Table I.

TABLE I

Chughtai Family Genealogy

Ustad Abdal Latif Al-Qatib

Ustad Mohammad Hussain

Ustad Mohammad Yusuf

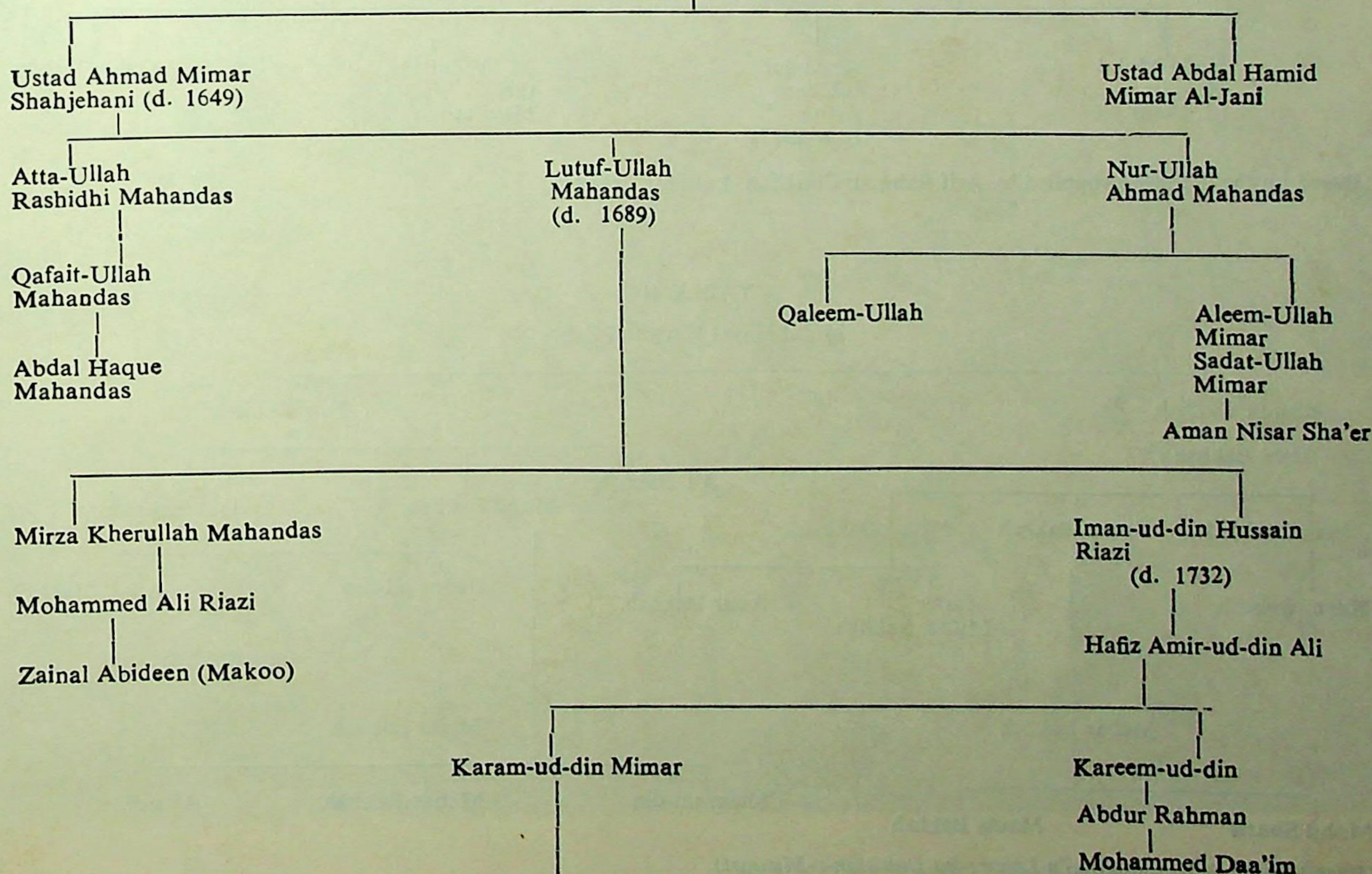
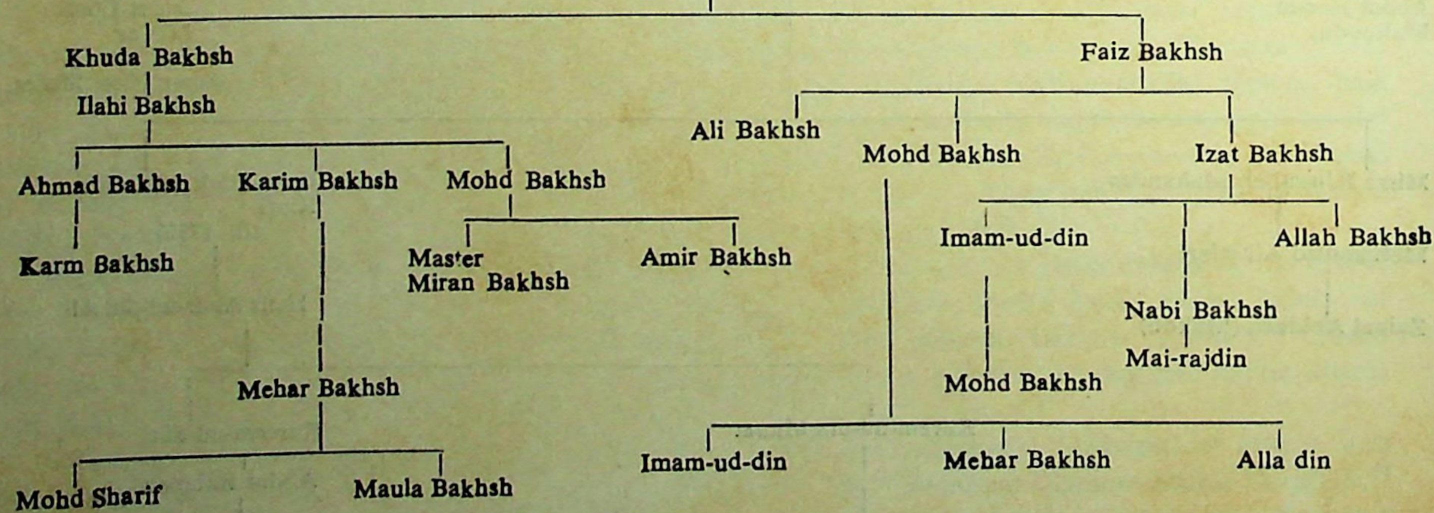


TABLE I (Contd.)

- Karam-ud-din Mimar
  - Mohammed Salah Mimar (d. 1858)
    - Elahi Bakhsh (Natha)
      - Umardin Naqqash
        - Miran Bakhsh Naqqash (d. 1920)
          - Mohammed Hayat Naqqash (d. 1965)
      - Faiz Bakhsh
        - Mohammed-din
        - Hussain Bakhsh
    - Rahim Bakhsh
      - Karim Bakhsh Mimar (d. 1913)
        - Hafiz Mohd Hussain (d. 1946)
        - M. Abdur Rehman Artist (1899-1975)
        - M. Abdallah (art historian)
        - Abdur Rahim
  - Nur Mohammed Mimar
    - Khuda Bakhsh
      - Rahim Bakhsh
        - Chirag Din
          - Imam Bibi

(Based on the literature supplied by Arif Rehman Chughtai, Lahore, Pakistan)

TABLE II



(Based on M.A.R. Chughtai's *Lahore-ka-Dabistan-e-Mussari*)

V. Punjab theme by Mohammed Bakhsh (Approx. 1880-1900). Courtesy Chughtai Museum Trust, Lahore (Pakistan).





VI. Various heads Sikh Period (1799-1839) Lahore. Courtesy Chughtai Museum Trust, Lahore (Pakistan).

There were several Muslim artists having the name Amir Bakhsh, Mohd Bakhsh, Miran Bakhsh, Imam Bakhsh, Karm Bakhsh, Karim Bakhsh and Pir Bakhsh etc., that it is rather difficult to distinguish between two persons of the same name. It is only through their ancestral bazars and dwelling places that these could be distinguished from each other. As Mohd Bakhsh (Plates 116, 117), father of Allah Bakhsh was equally deft in ivory painting as in portrait painting on paper. He was resident in Kucha Naqqashan, inside Lahori Mandi, Lahore. Mian Allah Bakhsh, eldest son of Izzat Bakhsh, was made incharge of decoration and painting of Lahore Fort after the collapse of Sikh kingdom.[67]

His contemporaries were Sher Mohd, Master Mohd Din, Master Ziauddin and Mian Mohd Din etc., who displayed their mettle in the great art of painting of his time.[68]

Ustad Sher Muhammad, an artist of great repute, earned his living as a drawing master, became vice-principal of Mayo School of Art, Lahore, after some time. He was considered the best artist in the field of oil painting. He was so devoted to his profession that he spent most of his time in the premises of the school. He painted several memorable portraits of Sikh nobles which are the treasures of Lahore Museum.

Master Amir Bakhsh and Miran Bakhsh, as referred to above, were two brothers. They belonged to famous Chughtai family of Lahore who painted in indigenous style for which the family became popular as Murtanwala-portrait-makers. They lived in Gumti Bazar, Lahore. The elder became headmaster of Municipal Technical School of Amritsar and younger joined the Education Department as a drawing master. But, later on he was transferred from the Railway Technical School, Lahore, to the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, where he served as a senior drawing master as well as assistant principal. Master Miran Bakhsh decorated the walls of Viceregal Lodge (now Rashtrapati Bhawan) of New Delhi in the old arabesque style. It should be recorded here with confidence that these brothers trained large number of artists of Punjab. Mohd Sharif and Maula Bakhsh were their contemporaries.[69]

The last artist in the chain of Chughtai family was Muhammad Abdul Rehman Chughtai (Pls. II, III) (born 21 September 1899, died 17 January 1975) (Plates 126, 128), received early training in art from his ancestor Ustad Miran Bakhsh (Plate 132) (died 1920), then at Mayo School of Art, Lahore. Afterwards he associated himself with the pioneers of Renaissance Movement in Indian Art, for example, Abanindra Nath Tagore, Gaganendra Nath Tagore, Nand Lal Bose, etc. But he never copied the Ajanta wall paintings and its technique blindly like others. He, however, absorbed some vital wash technique of Ajanta, mysticism of Iran and subject matter from Hindu mythology. Obviously, he developed his own style of painting which is known now as Chughtai movement in art. His masterpieces include: *Dance of Shiva*, *Saint Tulsi Das*, *Sunder* (*Krishna*) (Plate 129), and *Temptation of Buddha*, etc. His monumental works are *Amal-e-Chughtai* and *Muraqqa Chughtai*, which have won him international recognition in the world of art and culture.

Lahore was full of artists and *naqqashas* at the time of British takeover of Punjab as is evident from the album Nos. 182, 183, 184, 185 which are filled with pictures made by the Lahori painters. Album No. 187 contains two paintings by Kapur Singh.[70] Lahore Museum possesses several paintings by Kapur Singh and Karm Bakhsh. Some of these were gifted students of Mayo School of Art opened in Lahore in 1875. These were employed in several useful vocations as drawing ewers and brass vessels for representation in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*.[71]

Next comes the family of Kehar Singh (Plate 120) which received royal patronage in the nineteenth-century Punjab. They also worked for big landlords, business community and other Sikh nobility in Lahore as well as in other neighbouring princely states of Kapurthala, Patiala, Sangrur, etc. As we have found that the achievement of Chughtai family was *par excellence* in the field of *naqqashi* and painting so was matchless the contribution of Kehar Singh family in all these fields. The members of this family, belonging to famous Ramgarhia community of Amritsar and Lahore, worked with full competence for their patrons. They painted miniatures, executed wall paintings, did excellent work of *mohra-kashi* in the buildings of Lahore and Amritsar. The Golden Temple of Amritsar, *gurudwaras*, temples and *havelis* of Amritsar and neighbouring regions are reminiscent of the work done by them. Some of the *naqqashas* of this family worked side by side with the *naqqashas* of Chughtai family of Lahore, but not at the cost

of each other. Every *naqqash* and artist of each family had his own distinct place among his colleagues. Their prominent work can be seen in the Lahore Museum (Pakistan), Government Museum (Chandigarh), Victoria and Albert Museum (London) and Central Sikh Museum (Amritsar). Some private collections like Fakir Jallaludin of Lahore (see Appendix B), Chughtai Museum Trust, Lahore, are worth mentioning here. The family members have thus left a strong impact of their painting skill on the public of the time they worked in. Although some writers have not considered the work of these artists as worthy of being called masterpieces of Indian art, yet, with the passage of time, more and more art historians are realising their significance. Real recognition has now begun to emerge from the fluent pens of modern writers of Sikh art. Hence, the part played by the members of Kehar Singh family cannot be underestimated by any stretch of imagination. The following genealogical tables along with some description shall help us to know the working of these *naqqashas* and artists.

There were three major families around which several minor artists worked in unison or independently. Some of these were close relations and some were distant ones. This would be clear from the tables which were prepared on the information supplied by Hakim Gurcharan Singh, a descendant of Kehar Singh family.[72] This information was further verified and confirmed by artist Hari Singh of Amritsar.[73]

Sohan Lal Suri, an official diarist of the court of Ranjit Singh, describes how artists were patronised and as such we can understand the state of painting in Lahore kingdom. For the first time we come across this important reference relating to artist Bhai Kishan Singh Musawir (portrait-maker) (Plate 121) who was sent by Sher Singh to make portrait of Dost Mohammad, ruler of Kabul and Kandahar[74] while on a return journey from Calcutta to Afghanistan.

Giani Harinder Singh Roop, a nineteenth-century Punjabi scholar, was the first to throw light on the works of these Sikh artists of Punjab,[75] he was followed by Dr Mulk Raj Anand,[76] Dr M.S. Randhawa,[77] Dr B.N. Goswamy,[78] the late W.G. Archer[79] etc. in their own different approaches. But so far none of the writers have given us any idea of the family connections of these artists except Giani Harinder Singh Roop who has given us some details of these artists in his two books[80] with several other details of the work which they were doing. It would be better to have their genealogy recorded for the smooth study of their way of life and work (Tables III-VI).

TABLE III

First Family

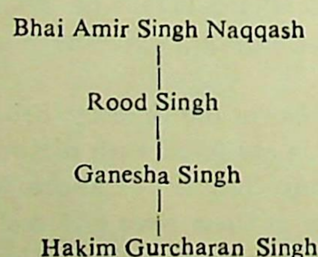


TABLE IV

Second Family

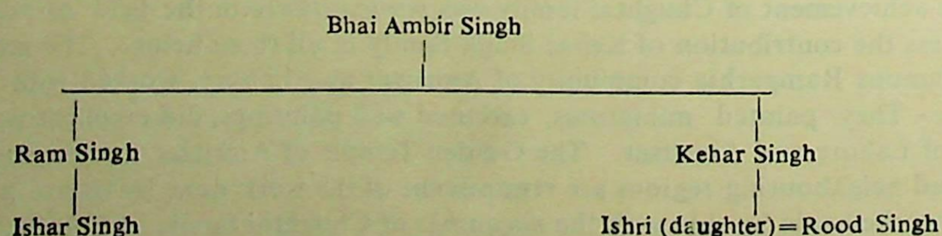


TABLE V

Third Family

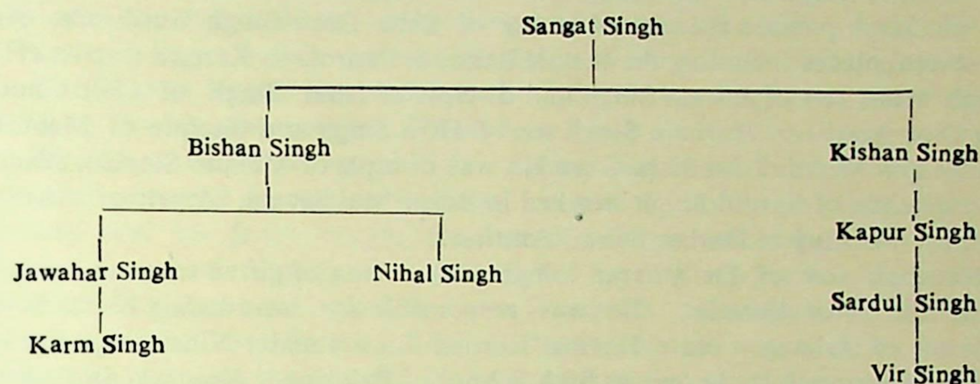
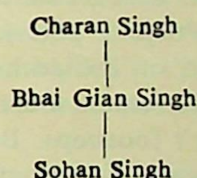


TABLE VI

Fourth Family



These *naqqashas* and artists lived in Kucha Tarkhana, Gali Naqqashan, Amritsar, from where they used to go far and wide for their daily bread. Since they all belonged to carpenter class (Ramgarhia community), they were talented in basic drawing work as also in the decoration work of buildings and paintings. Hence, they skilfully performed the whole job satisfactorily. But the court patronage was the privilege of only a chosen few, as for example, Kehar Singh, Kishan Singh, Bishan Singh and Kapur Singh (Plate 122), who enjoyed wide recognition in Lahore as well as in Amritsar, Kapurthala, Patiala, Sangrur, Nabha, etc. Bishan Singh did water-colour in the beginning but switched over to oil. His forty portraits are in the Lahore Museum. Their masterpieces can still be seen at Lahore, Chandigarh and London museums.

Hence these brothers and nephews worked wholeheartedly in the field of painting to the entire satisfaction of their patrons.[81] Their concentration was mainly on Sikh themes: religious and secular. They contributed in a large measure to the embellishment of inner walls of Sri Darbar Sahib, Amritsar. Their selfless service brought them honour as *Fakhr-e-Caum* (Pride of the Nation).

Artist-Naqqash Rood Singh (Plate 123) of family No. 1 was son-in-law and disciple of Kehar Singh. Rood Singh's son Ganesha Singh, an architect, was a nephew of Ishar Singh son of Ram Singh, elder brother of Kehar Singh. Ishri, daughter of Kehar Singh, was married to Rood Singh. Hence Hakim Gurcharan Singh, grandson of Rood Singh, as disclosed to this author, inherited six almirahs and eight boxes full of paintings, drawings and sketches,[82] some of these had been taken away by the people free of cost when Hakim Gurcharan Singh did not know the market value of these, but the rest were disposed of when he discovered the commercial aspect of the paintings left by his ancestors. Kehar Singh, Kishan Singh and Kapur Singh did not confine their activities to Lahore and Amritsar alone, they[83] went to Kapurthala and Patiala also.

Apart from the above cited there were other *naqqashas* and artists like Din Mohammad, Jawahar Dacha, Latuni, Sharaf-ud-din, Malha Ram (Plate 125), etc., who worked in Amritsar and Lahore in the nineteenth century. Jaimal Singh and Buta Singh and Amar Singh painted *Janam Sakhis* in Baba Attal Sahib, Amritsar. Vir Singh painted the second storey of Baba Deep Singh Gurdwara, Amritsar. Rood Singh worked at several places including the temple Baijnath Paprola in Kangra district (Himachal Pradesh). Mehtab Singh artist son of Jawala Singh and disciple of Ishar Singh of Gali Choor Singh worked at Chowk Prag Das, Amritsar, Harnam Singh son of Hira Singh and disciple of Mehtab Singh painted at Darbar Sahib, Din Mohd of Jandiala Guru Ka was disciple of Mehtab Singh. Amar Singh son of Jawala Singh and disciple of Sardul Singh worked in Bazar Mai Sewan, Amritsar. Atma Singh son of Mehtab Singh is now working in Darbar Sahib, Amritsar.

Bhai Gian Singh Naqqash son of Dr Charan Singh was a man of gifted talents who worked in Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, for three decades. He was responsible for introducing birds, flowers and plants like Ustad Mansur of Jehangir era. Having learned his art under Nihal Singh, he seriously painted in a manner which is popularly known as Sikh School of Painting. *Naqqashi* and *mohra kashi* were his main interests. What Bhai Vir Singh poet did for Punjabi poetry, Gian Singh Naqqash did for Punjabi painting. He freed the painting technique and style from Kangra and Iranian influences. He tried, as far as possible, to depict the human figures of Punjab in Punjabi features and dress. Pictures painted by Pahari or Mughal artists always manifested Pahari or Mughal characteristics. This he did in all his experiments in which he was successful. Like Dhani Ram Chatrak (Punjabi poet of late nineteenth and twentieth century) who improved the Punjabi poetry, Gian Singh also improved the way of painting. He is the only *naqqash* who had left behind him three monumental books on painting and *naqqashi*.[84] Ultimately he was honoured by Shromani Gurdwara Committee with *Banarsi Siropa*. His son G.S. Sohan is also following in his father's footsteps. But he is an oil-colourist and wields his brush in a different direction, i.e., he is marching towards photography and block-making which is the need of the day.

Then come Lahora Singh (Plates 130-131) and Milkhi Ram. Lahora Singh was a disciple of Mohammad Bakhsh Musawar (Pls. IV, V), father of Khalifa Imam-ud-din artist. In the beginning, Lahora Singh used to work in Gumti Bazar, then he shifted to Dabbi Bazar, Lahore. He had a disciple named Milkhi Ram. Milkhi Ram was a good artist. Both were equally good in Punjabi painting. Milkhi Ram has published numerous books in Urdu litho illustrated by him. Lahora Singh was disciple, so far as poetry is concerned, of Baba Hidiyatullah, resident in Mohallah Chabuk Sewaran, Lahore. He had written *Heera-Ranjha* in Punjabi language which was illustrated by him.[85] A complete set of Guru Nanak's life history by Lahora Singh is now preserved in the Museum of Punjab Government Archives, Patiala, which is clearly distinct in its own style. These paintings are monochromatic and are all didactic in nature. A lithograph section of ten Gurus was seen in the possession of Hakim Gurcharan Singh of Amritsar some few years ago.

Along with this should be considered the life and work of S.G. Thakur Singh (Plate 127) and Hari Singh. Both of them belonged to the same Ramgarhia section of the society to which Kehar Singh, Kishan Singh and Bishan Singh belonged. S.G. Thakur Singh who was born in village Verka in 1890, seven miles away from Amritsar, had learnt his craft at Lahore under the supervision of Mohd Alam at V.D.J. Technical Institute, Lahore, from there Thakur Singh rose from one pedestal of fame to another. For some time he was in Bombay films and then later he moved to Calcutta where he worked in Maidan Theatres in preparation of artistic sets for the shows. There he came in close contact with leaders of Renaissance Movement in Indian art led by Tagore brothers, i.e., Abanindra Nath, Gaganendra Nath Tagore, and Nand Lal Bose, etc. Late Prof O.C. Gangoli was his appreciative critic. S.G. Thakur Singh worked specially for ruling Indian princes from whom he earned commission. His permanent patrons were the rulers of Kota, Udaipur, Bhopal, Kashmir, Dongarpur, Travancore, Nawan Nagar, Bikaner, Patiala, Kapurthala and several other Indian princes.

Although he had seen the works of Kapur Singh, Bishan Singh and Kishan Singh who worked in indigenous style, Thakur Singh was not influenced in the least by these artists. He worked purely in

European style and technique and reached perfection in it. He was associated with the All India Fine Arts and Crafts Society, New Delhi; Lalit Kala Akademi, New Delhi; travelled extensively in the Soviet Union and other foreign countries, holding one-man shows of his paintings.

Ultimately he settled down in Amritsar and founded the Indian Academy of Fine Arts at Madan Mohan Malviya Road, where young generation of artists learn painting, and exhibitions are held for promotion of Thakur Singh's ideals of fine art. S.G. Thakur Singh was decorated with the honour of State Artist by Punjab government. He died on 2 July 1976 at the ripe age of eighty-six.[86]

Hari Singh, a contemporary of S.G. Thakur Singh, was born in 1894 in Amritsar in a family of architects, designers and decoration workers. As was the fashion in those days he received rudiments of education and his fancy caught the lure of painting and he became a painter in Maiden Theatre, Calcutta, as a scenario artist where he worked for fourteen years. Thereafter, he shifted to Pioneer Film Studio, Calcutta, and worked there for four years. Hari Singh was disciple of Malla Ram. His frescos remind us of Italian frescos. His life's best specimens were done on the walls of Royal Talkies, Amritsar, which was destroyed by fire in the riots of 1947. He richly contributed to architectural and ornamental paintings and gracefully died in 1970.

There was one Thakur Lal Singh artist who worked at the Nabha court, 20 kilometres from Patiala. He illustrated M.A. Maucauliffe's *The Sikh Religion*, with most beautiful miniature portraits of ten Gurus. Then come Hasanal-din, Jiwan Ram (from Meerut, U.P.). Artist Jiwan Ram was a member of suite of Lord William Bentinck when the latter came in Punjab in 1831 to meet Ranjit Singh. He painted the best portrait of the Maharaja which was displayed in the exhibition of 1864 held at Lahore.[87] Mohd Azim and others also reached Lahore from Delhi to seek patronage and employment and they did well. Hasanal-din's works are now preserved in the India Office Library and Records, London.

There was one Karm Singh artist during the reign of Sher Singh in Lahore who was perfect in painting, golden work, iron work, wood-work, and architect's work etc. He was excellent in ivory-painting and ivory work as well.[88] He was noticed by Kali Rai, then Deputy Collector of Ambala Division during his tour of Punjab in 1846.

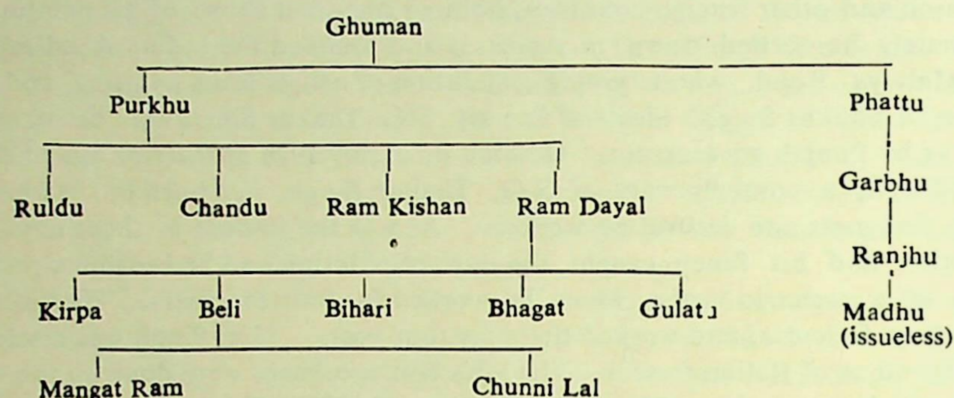
Then came the family of Pahari painters who came to the Punjab plains in search of new patrons. They did an excellent job there. They brought with them Pahari style, its delicacy of line, flowing movements, architectural details, ladies' beauty, nature's bounties which were not available in the plains. They even adjusted to the new environment, new patrons and new philosophy of life, and also new tastes. They produced Sikh subjects in Pahari style for some time and this period is called Pahari-Kangra phase of Punjab painting. Miniatures (individual portraits) were painted, books were illustrated, walls were embellished in this style depicting mythologies from Hindu scriptures and also *Janam Sakhis* from Sikh religion. It is a matter of great significance that Sikh Gurus and Gurus' *Janam Sakhis* were for the first time illustrated in Punjab in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries but not during the last four centuries of growth of Sikh religion. After that there was a mushroom growth of paintings of Gurus both in water-colour and oils during the last phase of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Hence, it would be fruitful to analyse the genealogy of major Pahari artists in Punjab plains.

Apart from R.P.N. Singh's genealogy (Table VII), we have another genealogy given by Dr B.N. Goswamy in his latest book on Pahari painters (Table VIII). Some names mentioned by Singh are missing in Goswamy's list, and vice versa. Hence, the present study takes cognizance of both tables of artists' genealogy to find the missing links in the whole chain of the artists community.

The contribution of Pahari artists whose two genealogical tables have been given here, was undoubtedly very significant. Several members of these families worked in the Hills, then they migrated to Punjab plains in search of new masters. These artists brought with them their classic Pahari style and technique of painting which has earned world-wide reputation in art circles. How these were working in different centres of Punjab is now known to us from various documentary sources. Purkhu of Kangra was working at Lahore[89] along with host of other artists such as Muhammad Bakhsh and

TABLE VII

Genealogy of Purkhu Family



(Based on R.P.N. Singh's book *Maharaja Sansar Chand: Chief Patron of Kangra Painting* (Hindi) (Delhi: Atma Ram & Sons, 1959), p. 143)

TABLE VIII

Genealogy of Pandit Seu

- Datta
  - Bharathu
    - Hasnu
      - Seu
        - Manku
          - Fattu
            - Molak
              - Madho
              - Kashi Ram
          - Khushala
            - Hazari
            - Sikhnu
              - Bahadur
              - Gurdas
                - Chetu
        - Nainsukh
          - Kama
            - Lala
          - Gandhu
            - Sukhia
              - Harbhaj
            - Sultanu
              - Udmi
              - Surjan
              - Arjan
          - Nikka
            - Harkhu
            - Gokal
              - Ram Dayal
                - Lachman Das
                  - Chandu Lal
              - Damodar
            - Chajju
              - Attra
              - Saudagar
                - Mahesu
                - Kanhaiya
              - Jawahar
          - Ranjha
            - Gur Sahai
              - Devi Datta
                - Shiv Saran
              - Dhananjaya
            - Sukh Dayal

(Based on Dr B.N. Goswamy's *Painters at the Sikh Court: Study Based on Twenty Documents* (Weisbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, GMBH, 1975), p. 5)

Kehar Singh.[90] Secondly, Devi Datta first worked at Lahore and then at Patiala.[91] Thirdly, Bihari of the same family accompanied the royal *shikar* party of Ranjit Singh along with general Hari Singh Nalwa. In the jungle a leopard was caught and put to death by the sword of Nalwa. The entire scene was painted by court artist Pandit Bihari, a copy of this painting was given to Dr Baron Hugel, a German physician at the court.[92] Then again, one Chhajju Ram belonging to the same family worked at Lahore and Amritsar.[93]

Kashmiri contribution in the development of painting in Punjab plains cannot be lost sight of. Persons of various trades and crafts, specially weaving and silk industry, came to the business centres of Punjab, viz Lahore and Amritsar. Two most important names have come down to us as the artists-cum-calligraphers of very high order. They are Pandit Daya Ram Kaul Tota (Appendix G) and his son Pandit Raja Ram Kaul Tota (Plates 87-93) who have left behind several Persian manuscripts with beautiful illustrations which give an idea of the state of book illumination in Punjab of those times.

Raja Ram Kaul alias Tota (Plates 39-43) was a calligraphist in the Kohinoor Press, Lahore. He was a very good artist. He wrote 'Zafar-Nama Guru Gobind Singh' (M/649) (Plates 109-110). This manuscript is illustrated and paintings were done by the author. It narrates the events till death of Ranjit Singh. Another work by him *Gulgashat-e-Punjab* (M/790) (Plates 82-93) which was written in 1864 is the history of Punjab from the earliest times till the annexation of Punjab in 1849. Then *Gulab-Nama* and *Gulzar-e-Kashmir* written by Diwan Kirpa Ram were transcribed by him. Raja Ram Kaul Tota was a good Persian writer besides being an artist. Late Prof Sita Ram Kohli who edited *Zafar-Nama Ranjit Singh* in 1928 says that it was originally written by Dewan Amar Nath in Persian during the period 1833 and 1836 and transcribed by Pandit Raja Ram Kaul Tota in 1856. At the end of this manuscript the calligraphist-cum-copyist gives his name as Pandit Raja Ram alias Brahmin Kashmiri. He further tells us that the manuscript was transcribed for Lala Das Mal, at Lahore, in Samvat 1912, A.D. 1856 and the artist got ten rupees as his wages on 17 November 1857 and "Abdullah", a book-binder got one-and-a-half rupees as his charges and its receipt having been recorded on this manuscript as on 23 July 1895 respectively.[94]

This does not give us information only of the artist who worked in nineteenth century but also focuses our attention on the economic aspect of this type of work. It may lead us to believe what type of social condition prevailed between various categories of profession that existed century and a quarter ago. Suffice it to say that artists, painters, calligraphists and *naqqashas* came to Punjab from all directions in search of bread. Then, finally, comes the turn of Patiala centre, where the artisans and builders came from the Hills, Rajasthan, Awadh and Delhi after the collapse of the Mughal administration. And they found very receptive and congenial working condition in Patiala as also in the neighbouring princely states of Nabha, Jhind, Kapurthala, Ladava etc. It was just like Lahore where artists belonging to all religious sections were found working side by side peacefully.

As already mentioned, Patiala had been a centre of art, architecture, literature, music and in other walks of life from the period of Karam Singh. It attracted skilled and experienced artisans and builders from Rajasthan who built famous palaces and forts there. A renowned mistri Ude Ram Jaipuria came from Jaipur (Rajasthan) in the times of Karam Singh, then a large contingent of artistic workers followed him to Patiala.[95] Although scholars like N.C. Mehta[96] and A. Ghosh[97] have referred in their writings about the development of a school of painting at Patiala, they could not provide us with any particular artist or group of artists who worked at Patiala. This might be perhaps due to the absence of inscriptional evidence on the paintings of Patiala. But according to the oral evidences now available from the descendants of Ude Ram Jaipuria it may be stated with some degree of certitude that artists and builders came to Patiala from Rajasthan, as also from Western Himalayas, now known as Himachal Pradesh. With Ude Ram came Bagh Mal, Ganga Bakhsh and Shiva Ram. Shiva Ram and Rama Nand also worked at Rani Mahal, Nabha. Mohammad Sharif and Basharat Ullah were the disciples of Shiva Ram at Patiala. These artists were of migratory nature and, hence, worked at Jammu, Kashmir, Kapurthala, Sangrur, Nabha, Patiala, etc. Hukam Chand, Gopi Singh Patel and Dhanna Lal *mistris* also worked in Patiala in the nineteenth century.[98] There are certainly some other names such as Beeba

and Keru who have been identified by the scholars in this field like Dr B.N. Goswamy and Prof S.S. Talwar during the past decade. According to the former, Pahari painter Devi Datta of Nainsukh and Parkhu family had worked in Patiala in 1865 during Mahendra Singh's times. This is confirmed by entries in travellers account (*Bahis*) maintained by Pandit Piyare Lal at Hardwar.[99] Then, Prof S.S. Talwar of the Department of Museums and Archaeology (who had collected sufficient drawings, sketches, tracings, paintings in Patiala in the early sixties) informed me on 30 December 1972 and 1 January 1973 that the artists Shibba and Shiva Narayan had also worked at Patiala. Artists' sketches of portraits of each other were also in his collection, as for example, of artists Pars Ram, Radha Kishan, Nainsukh, Noadha Ram.[100] It appears from the foregoing that painters and artists flocked to Patiala from Hills and Rajasthan etc., and worked for the Patiala Durbar.

Some time back a painting of Maharaja Rajendra Singh of Patiala by artist Kishan Singh was found with a New Delhi connoisseur. Again a painting of Hakim Sadra Udin of Nabha by artist Bhagat Singh was also purchased by this collector.[101]

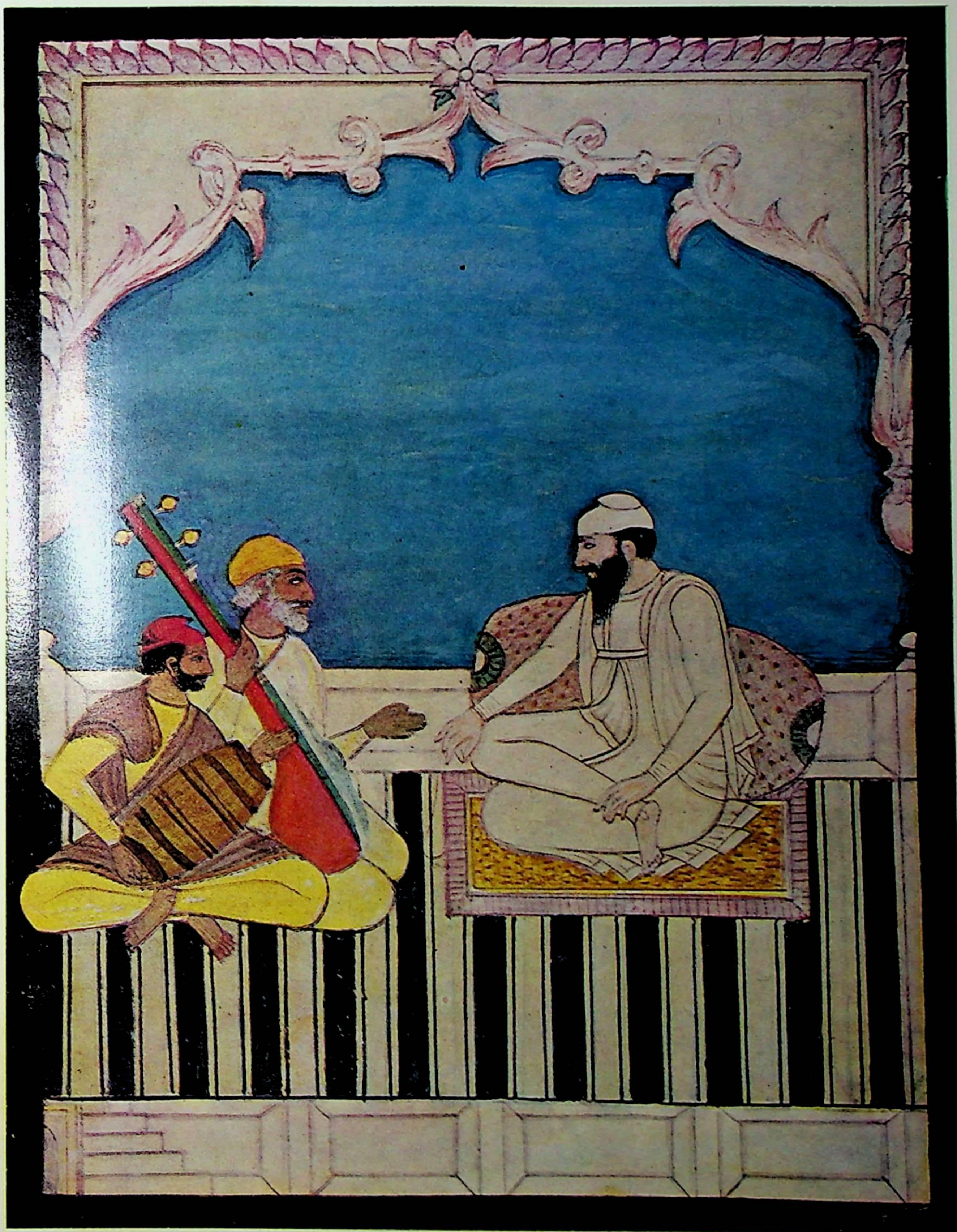
A very imoortant artist Pandit Kirpa Ram of Saharanpur (U.P.) had painted frescos in the Gurudwara of Muktsar in Ferozepur (Punjab).[102]

Eminent artists with thorough grounding in Mughal miniature painting tradition came from Delhi and settled in the generous princely Court of Patiala about one hundred and seventy-five years ago. The ancestor of this famous family was Ustad Allah Ditta, his illustrious son Sheikh Basharat Ullah was also a renowned painter of Patiala Durbar. Ustad Allah Ditta worked on several themes of local mythology and religious motifs incorporating the styles and colours of great Mughal miniature painting tradition. Evidence proffered to this author by Mr Arif Rehman Chughtai, Director, Chughtai Museum Trust Lahore (Pakistan) is very significant in this regard and I am extremely grateful to him for this help. Then Ustad Allah Ditta's grandson Haji Mohammad Sharif whose father Sheikh Basharat Ullah died when the former was just in infancy. This hereditary tradition of painting flourished in Patiala Durbar with full royal encouragement. Patiala mesmerised other top artists of Delhi like Mohammad Hussain Khan. Then, there was one Lala Shaoo Ram under whose discipleship Haji Mohd Sharif learnt the delicate art of painting in Patiala after the death of his father. Alas, the tragic blow of the partition of India in 1947 snatched from us this famous artist and he migrated to Lahore, where he began preparing the younger generation of Mussavars in traditional painting in National College of Art (formerly known as Mayo School of Art). Our Patialawi artist died in Lahore (Plate 109) in December 1978, leaving behind unforgettable legacy of painting which perhaps none else would perform in his memorable style, manner, charm of perfection and life-likeness of the portraits he painted.

There was a practice among artists to transfer their skill of painting either to their sons or to some favourite pupil but to none else and this continued for generations. But no hard and fast generalization can be drawn in each case. One descendant of artist is a practising *hakim* in Amritsar, another is a contractor, yet another is running a flour mill at Patiala,[103] and the Chughtai family at Lahore (now in Pakistan) has adopted a vocation other than that of its ancestors. But one thing must be said here without any prejudice about the descendants of Chughtai family like Arif Rehman Chughtai, Abdur Rahim Chughtai, and Dr Mohammad Abdullah Chughtai that, although not practising artists today, they are very keen promoters of art, art critics and art historians of great merit and have contributed a great deal towards salvaging the art of their ancestors as also in preserving the history of this creative art with loving care.[104]

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VII. Musicians—Sikh Period Lahore (1799-1839) Abdullah painter. Courtesy Chughtai Museum Trust, Lahore (Pakistan).



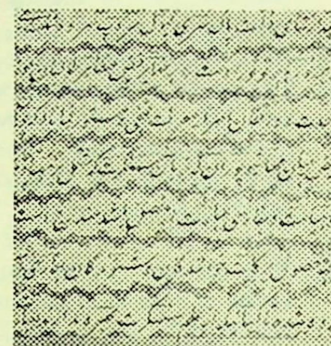
VIII. Lady's figure by Mohammad Bakhsh, Sikh period (1799-1839) Lahore. Courtesy Chughtai Museum Trust, Lahore (Pakistan).

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27. Hakim Gurcharan Singh gave me useful information about his family artists, also provided me with some photographs of these. He runs a shop of Unani medicine in Guru Ram Dass Serai Road, near Brahmbuta Akhara, Amritsar.
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44. Patiala State Record, Sr. No. 4, Basta No. 12, relating to the settlement of marriage of Bibaji Sahiba at Bharatpur. See also Khalifa Mohd Hassan, p. 373, stating the occasion of marriage of Bibi Basant Kaur daughter of Narinder Singh with the prince of Bhagwant Singh Dholpur (Rajasthan).
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    Acc. No. 16578, *Majmui Report Tamirat Patiala* (Urdu) for Samvat 1939, pp. 77-78, unnumbered *Majmui Report Tamirat Patiala* for Samvat 1940, pp. 99-103, 105.
    B. 16580, *Majmui Report Tamirat Patiala* (Urdu) for Samvat 1943, pp. 70-71.
    M/844, *Majmui Report Tamirat Patiala* (Urdu) for Samvat 1947, pp. 12-20.
    Acc. B. 16573, *Annual Administration Report, Patiala*, Samvat 1986, p. 23.
    Acc. B. 16575, *Annual Administration Report, Patiala*, Samvat 1989, p. 89.
    B/16582, *Annual Administration Report, Patiala*, Samvat 1995.
    B/16587, *Annual Administration Report, Patiala*, Samvat 1996.
54. Haji Mohd Sharif died in Lahore in June 1979, according to a private communication from A.R. Chughtai, No. Z/10 for CMTK/98 dated 22 June 1979.
55. Mohd Abdul Rehman Chughtai, *Lahore-ka-Dabistan-e-Musawari* (Urdu) (Lahore, 1979), p. 33.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 71. See also B.H. Baden-Powell's *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of Punjab* (Lahore: Punjab Printing Co., 1872), pp. 343, 352 and 356.
57. Dr M. Abdullah Chughtai, *A Century of Painting in Punjab* (Lahore, 1961), pp. 37-38.
58. Nur Ahmad Chisti, *Tahqiqat-e-Chishti* (Urdu) (Lahore: Wattan Press, 1867 A.D.), pp. 189, 200, 357, 672, 673, 674. See also Rai Bahadur Kanahiya Lal, *Tarikh-e-Lahore* (Urdu) (Victoria Press, 1884), pp. 44, 46, 48, 51, 52, 158, 165.
59. Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh* (Persian) (Lahore, 1886), Chapter IV, Part III, p. 5. See also *ibid.*, Chapter V, p. 55.
60. *Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh Yakdil* (Urdu), *Bayaz* No. 14, 1845, p. 109.
61. *Ibid., Bayaz* No. 9, 1845, p. 28.
62. *Ibid., Bayaz* No. 13, 1847-48, p. 13.
63. *Ibid.*, No. 12, 1847, p. 169.
64. *Ibid.*, No. 15, 1848, p. 32.
65. *Ibid.*, No. 3, 1848, p. 45.
66. M.A.R. Chughtai, *Lahore-ka-Dabistan-e-Musawari* (Urdu) (Lahore, 1979), p. 57.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
68. Dr M. Abdullah Chughtai, *A Century of Painting in the Punjab* (Lahore: Kitab Khana-i-Nauras, 1961), pp. 43-44.
69. *Ibid.*
70. M.A.R. Chughtai, *Lahore-ka-Dabistan-e-Musawari* (Lahore, 1979), p. 42. These albums are in the collection of India Office Library, London.
71. Dr W.G. Archer, *India and Modern Art* (London, 1959), p. 26.
72. Hakim Gurcharan Singh is the last surviving descendant of Kehar Singh family. He is a practising Unani *hakim*, and runs a shop at Guru Ram Dass Serai Road, Amritsar.
73. Artist Hari Singh was contemporary of Bhai Kishan Singh and Bhai Kapur Singh. He was running his own studio in Khoti Hatta near Municipal Corporation, Amritsar. He died in 1970 at the ripe age of eighty. His son runs photo studio in Hall Bazar, Amritsar.
74. Sohan Lal Suri, *Umdat-ul-Tawarikh* (Lahore, 1886), Chapter IV, Part III, p. 5.
75. Giani Harinder Singh Roop, *Sikh-te-Sikhi* (Punjabi) (Lahore: Lahore Publishing House, 1947), pp. 19, 23, 59, etc.
76. Dr Mulk Raj Anand, "Painting Under the Sikhs", in *Marg*, Vol. VII, March 1954.
77. Dr M.S. Randhawa, "Two Punjabi Artists of Nineteenth Century: Kehar Singh and Kapur Singh", in *Chhavi*, Golden Jubilee No. of Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, 1972, pp. 67-69.
78. Dr B.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Painting: An Analysis of Some Aspects of Patronage", in *Oriental Art*, Vol. XV, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 4.
79. W.G. Archer, *Paintings of Sikhs* (London: HMSO, 1966).

80. One reference appears at n. 75, another is Harinder Singh's *Roop-Rang* (Punjabi) (Ludhiana: Lahore Book Shop, 1953), pp. 160-169.
81. Harinder Singh Roop No. 2, p. 164.
82. Much useful information regarding Kehar Singh family was supplied to me by Hakim Gurcharan Singh of Amritsar.
83. M.A.R. Chughtai, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 71.
84. The names of the books written by Gian Singh Naqqash are: (i) *Naqqashi Darpan*, (ii) *Visva Karma Darpan*, (iii) *Gian-Chitrawali*. The last named has been published by his son G.S. Sohan from 27-Brahmbuta Akhara Market, Amritsar.
85. M.A.R. Chughtai, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
86. R.P. Srivastava, "Sardar S.G. Thakur Singh: Punjabi Artist of Two Generations", in *the Sikh Courier*, Vol. 9, Spring 1977, No. 5, pp. 28-30.
87. B.H. Baden-Powell, *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of Punjab* (Lahore, 1872), p. 355.
88. Kali Rai, *Sair-e-Punjab Kamil* (Urdu) (Lahore: Naval Kishore Press, 1872), p. 135.
89. Sayeed Waheed Uddin, *The Real Ranjit Singh* (Karachi, Lion Art Press, 1965), p. 121. See also Appendix F.
90. *Ibid.*
91. Dr B.N. Goswamy, "Sikh Painting: An Analysis of Some Aspects of Patronage", in *Oriental Art*, Vol. XV, No. 1, Spring 1969, p. 4.
92. Roshan Lal Ahuja, *The Story of Ranjit Singh* (Ludhiana: Lahore Book Shop), p. 72.
93. M.A.R. Chughtai, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
94. Sita Ram Kohli (ed.), *Zafar-Nama Ranjit Singh* (Persian) written by Diwan Amar Nath, 1928, Lahore: University of Punjab, pp. xi and xii; see also J.N. Mukerjee, *Art Manufactures of India* (Calcutta: Government Printing Press, 1888), p. 19.
95. *Shamsher Khalsa*, No. 38, Vol. 12, 1938, Sr. No. 182, Ambala, p. 57.
96. N.C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting* (Bombay, 1926), p. 60.
97. A. Ghosh, "Pahari Schools of Indian Painting" in *Roop Lekha*, 1958, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 1 and 2, p. 44.
98. This information was given to me by Hanuman Sahai, Technical Assistant Maharani's College, Jaipur (Rajasthan), who is descendant of these artists.
99. Dr B.N. Goswamy, "Pahari Painting: The Family—A Basis of Style", in *Marg*, Vol. XXI, No. 4, September 1968, p. 22.
100. Prof S.S. Talwar, who is the Registration Officer in the Department of Museums and Archaeology, Government of Punjab, gave me all these details about artists personally.
101. This New Delhi connoisseur is S.D.S. Malhotra, a fairly well-known personality in the Delhi art circles.
102. This information was given to me by Prof P.S. Arohi, Head of the Department of Fine Arts, Government College for Women, Patiala, whose father Sirdar Kartar Singh of Barnala (Sangrur), Punjab, knew artist Pandit Kirpa Ram personally, and saw him working in Muktsar Gurudwara.
103. He is Shri Ramji Dass, running his flour mill in Sirhindi Bazar, Patiala. He gave me some information about Rajasthani families which came to Patiala during the reign of Karm Singh and his son Narinder Singh.
104. Arif Rehman Chughtai, son of Mohd Abdul Rehman Chughtai, has established a museum of his father's works in Lahore. His uncles Dr Abdullah Chughtai and Abdur Rahim Chughtai are prominent art historians of Lahore. Mr Arif has provided me a wealth of information about Lahore artists already quoted elsewhere in this chapter.

CHAPTER V



STYLISTIC ANALYSIS, MATERIAL, TECHNIQUE

BIRTH OF SIKH SCHOOL OF PAINTING

JAMES S. Ackerman, Harvard University, Professor of Fine Arts, expounded his theory of style in 1962 as follows:

> We distinguish one style from another by noting differences in the use of conventions, materials, and technique. We do this by referring to an image of norms of a style as a whole—style in a stable sense but the whole image does not help to determine chronological or geographical limits.

He proceeds further to state:

> . . . As far as on the examination of the creative process, so that the individual work of art, and not the force of some vague destiny, might be seen as the prime mover of the historical process revealed in the style.[1]

In 1963, Prof Ackerman improves upon his explanation of style and mentions as below:

> . . . The concept of style is a means of establishing relationship among individual works of art. In this it resembles the concepts of society and culture, which are based on similar definitions of relationships; anthropologists also use the word style to designate a complex of behaviour patterns within a society . . . conventions of form and of symbolism yield the rich harvest of traits by which to distinguish style.[2]

Paul Zucker emphasises the concrete constituents which go a long way to develop a style in painting:

> Every genuine work of art consists not of emotional, topical or decorative qualities but also of visual images that tell us something of the spiritual life of the age that produced it. The artist personally communicates elements of a bygone or contemporary age which cannot be transmitted by historical documents, statistical reports, diaries, or letters . . . the true artist crystallises his vision in a doubly real picture, in which the beholder may read two distinct images: a collective truth and personal experience.

The arts, which are the sublimest human expression, are the supreme embodiment of style on the most meaningful level.

According to the above author, there are five major factors that lie outside the artist's individual intent and that decisively influence the range of choice open to his genius. A glance at these will make clear the affinity between his creative imagination and his time locale. The five factors are: period, country, social and political systems, spiritual movements (religious and cultural), materials and techniques.

It should be clear from the following instances that the style-creating factors are not subject to exact assessment. The tangled threads of historic style cannot be combed straight, counted and measured. The factors which mould style should not be examined as one assembles statistics or calculates percentages. They must simply be recognised, studied and understood. The principles as outlined above may not be rigidly applied to the paintings done in Punjab, Phulkian and Cis-Sutlej states as the different centres of work had different political set up, different social and cultural background behind them. Social philosophy of each patron, political tranquillity, if it at all existed there, had their full impact on the painting done at each centre in Punjab. These factors along with those enumerated above, have worked as determining factors of establishing a way of painting which we call style in Punjab painting. Centres such as Lahore, Amritsar, Patiala, Kapurthala and Jhind offered court patronage to artists, obviously we may characterise them with local appellation of dynastic style. As for example, the work of painting done in Lahore drew inspiration from Pahari as well as Mughal sources and as such the paintings executed there bear a clear resemblance to the style of work done at Pahari as well as Mughal courts. There had been a definite tendency amongst the artists of the nineteenth century to carry with them the working methods of painting to the new centres of work. Positively the previous traces of paintings, compositions of paintings, colour schemes applied to the painting continued for some time until some local change took place. There are evidences to show that even the religious faith of the artists has played an important role in borrowing some peculiar style of painting of his own choice. For instance Muslim artists of Lahore and other Pahari regions preferred to work in Mughal style. Colour schemes, landscape surrounding the figures, individual portraits, use of halo around the principal figure, use of gold in the border etc., were freely imitated from the Mughal period. There is a reason behind it as Lahore used to be the provincial capital of the Mughal empire. Artists' ateliers existed at Lahore from the times of Humayun when Persian masters of calligraphy and painting came and settled down in India. They were: Khwaja Abdu's Samad, Mir Ali of Herat, Mir Sayyid Ali Tabrezi, Mulla Baqir (second son of Mir Ali); Mulla Fakhra, Mulla Sultan Bayazid son of Mir Nizam Douri, Inayat Ullah of Shiraz, Abdullah Mishkin Qalam, Muhammad Hussain of Tabrez, Muhammad Amir Masnadi, Mir Husain Kalingi, Maulana Abul Haye, Maulana Abdur Rahim of Herat and Maulana Nizam of Qazwin and Muhammad Ashraf who migrated from Mashnad during the reign of Akbar.[3] Akbar was compelled to leave Agra and settle at Lahore due to political situation in the North; he stayed there from 1585 to 1602, and during this period more than fifteen famous works were illustrated at Lahore. Notables are: *Tarikhe-Khandan-i-Timurya* and *Muraqqa-i-Bimithol.*[4] Jehangir, a great connoisseur of art, patronised painting since his princehood; Shahjehan being a builder and Aurangzeb did feel the necessity of these things. The Mughal empire collapsed. Sikh empire arose in 1799 and extended patronage to calligraphy and painting as is evident from an incident from the life of Ranjit Singh who paid a high price of an illustrated *Holi Quran* to the calligraphist when Fakir Aziz-ud-din (Foreign Minister) was unable to oblige him.[5] They were working there in Mughal style and technique. Later on when Ranjit Singh conquered Kangra and other Hilly principalities, in 1806 and 1809, most of the artists fled to the plains of Punjab in search of new patrons. Consequently, there developed a style which contained influences of two schools of painting which flourished in the Western Himalayas, and those at Lahore and Delhi at the time of disintegration of Mughal durbar in 1857. So was the case with Hindu artists, they were heavily depending upon the Hindu mythologies like *Bhagwat Puran*, *Shiva Puran*, *Visnu Puran*, *Ramayan* and *Mahabharat*, life and love of Radha and Krishna etc., for painting their pictures which were liked

both by patron as well as artists.[6] In some cases certain artists happened to be poets of good calibre. He used to paint and simultaneously used to compose poetry or the subject matter of his painting. Such paintings are available from Kangra and Rajasthan in large numbers.

Content or the subject matter changed with the change of locale and masters.[7] In Hills Sansar Chand and the princes of Guler and Basohli were the major heroes of the artists but in the Punjab plains, there was altogether a change in this matter. Court scene of Sansar Chand was changed into court scene of Ranjit Singh, environment of hills was changed into that of Lahore city and Amritsar. Pahari chieftains replaced by Sikh personages, Sikh nobles seated in durbar of Ranjit Singh or with Sher Singh, Dalip Singh and with his courtiers. 'Sikh Gurus' sets were prepared in large numbers. Temples and Gurudwaras were painted with life cycles of ten Gurus, *havelis* and *samadhas* were painted with Sikh religious and Hindu scriptural motifs.[8]

Thus, the entire style of painting changed in Punjab. Symbols, conventions and other ingredients of painting made special departure from the past style from where it originated.

New symbols, new trends, new ideas and new environment gave birth to a new style of painting which is sometimes known as Sikh School of Painting. Although scholars who have already done some work in this direction are averse to designate it as such, there is no harm in calling it as such. The type of work which was done under the patronage of Sikh rulers of Punjab is associated with ruling chiefs of the time. There was a tendency in Rajasthan, Deccan and at Mughal courts to call each style of painting made there as Rajasthani, Deccani and Mughal, since each was afforded royal, regional and dynastic patronage irrespective of the influences that were present in preparation of these paintings. For example, early paintings of Abdu's Samad and Mir Sayyid Ali displayed Iranian influences of calligraphy and beauty of penmanship but gradually it drew a large number of Indian painters from Agra, Rajasthan and Lahore who contributed Indian motifs and designs in the mainstream, which are discernible very clearly in Mughal painting, and yet they are not separately known. But the dynastic appellation of "Mughal painting" has continued until today. Hence, the designation of Sikh School of Painting is justified on this pattern. The only fact remains that small rivulets and streams merge into a big and mighty river and, hence, lose their own identity. However, influences remain there to be judged and understood by the connoisseurs.

Style could be distinguished in Punjab plain paintings by historic personages painted, by the dress, by style of pugree they wear, by the courtiers surrounding them. Also, the style could be deciphered by architectural designs in the paintings,[9] the landscapes which are painted in the background of paintings. Dr Moti Chandra has in one of his studies stated that architecture in Rajasthani painting received very little attention except in Kangra paintings. The Kangra artist took meticulous care in depicting contemporary architecture.[10] For instance landscapes painted in Guler, Kangra and Basohli paintings are rarely found in Punjab. It was because of the lack of hilly landscape in the plains that the Punjab paintings lacked it. But these landscapes were transplanted in some cases. Patiala Sheesh Mahal fresco, Qila Mubarik fresco, Sanglawalan Akhara, Amritsar, Dharamsala Bhai Basti Ram, Raghu Nath Misra temple, Shivala Raja Dina Nath, Hanuman Mandir, Shivala Banke Behariji, Shivala Jwala Devi, Shivala Mehar Dass, and Samadh Jawahar Singh etc. at Lahore are cases in support of it.[11] Artists from Kangra, Guler and Jaipur brought their style of painting and contributed a lot which are a living monument to the memory of their delicate work of art. Dr. M.S. Randhawa has aptly remarked in this connection as follows:

> From the style of a painting we are often able to tell its date and settle its provenance with reasonable accuracy. A style, like the march of seasons, has its own rhythm. Just as spring ripens into summer which then fades into the chill of autumn and the cold of winter, a style takes its birth, reaches maturity and then decays. Under the spell of a new inspiration creative enthusiasm is kindled, a great art is born. But with the passage of time the inspiration subsides, and the art becomes lifeless and mechanical.

Similarly, the problem[12] of style of painting in Punjab met the complex fate. So long as Ranjit Singh was alive, the style of painting blossomed fully but after his death gradually lost its maturity and its own identity and got enmeshed in the haze of European style of painting which had already started infiltrating into Punjab through foreign artists and adventurers who were visiting Punjab under one pretext or the other.[13] With the result that the traditional indigenous style suffered a major setback in the second half of the nineteenth century. Dr A.K. Coomaraswamy commented and agreed that this was a Sikh style of painting which existed in Lahore and Amritsar between 1775-1850.[14] Secondly, S.N. Dasgupta, former principal of Mayo School of Art, Lahore, has described in 1922 this style of painting as Sikh School of Painting which consisted of Mughal as well as Sikh artists who painted pictures from life.[15] Then, the late Prof O.C. Ganguli also emphatically characterised it as the "Sikh School of Painting" which, of course, absorbed some of the tendencies of Hill School of Kangra but it built up a respectable tradition in portrait painting.[16] A style so nicely regarded saw a steep fall. A very crude type of painting developed depicting the caste studies, low caste people, water carriers, jugglers, Nihangs, Punjab women, etc.[17] This style has sometimes been known in annals of Indian art history as Bazar style of painting. Such paintings were produced in very large numbers for the European visitors who displayed these in their own home countries as the representation of India. These were supplied in post card size sets and were sold in the bazars of Amritsar and Lahore. This was a harbinger of an era in which everything from dress to eating style was on the European model. Then, how could painting remain aloof from the onslaught of foreign influence, i.e. oil painting and photography as early as 1860.

MATERIAL AND TECHNIQUE

Murals and Frescos

Earliest references regarding the theory of the technique of painting are in the "Chitra Sutra" (Part II) of *Visnudharmotra Puran*.[18] The techniques mentioned in the *sutra* had been employed even up to the later phase of the wall paintings of Ajanta. The other references on this subject are to be found in the medieval *Silpa-Sastras*. *Abhilashitarth Cintamani* (*c*. 1113) compiled by Somesvara III of the Chalukya dynasty of Mysore, *Silpa Ratna* of Sri Kumar (*c*. 16th century work of Travancore origin) and *Siva Tattva Ratnakara* of Basava Raja (late seventeenth century work of Kannada origin) have enhanced over knowledge of technicalities of ancient and medieval Indian painting.[19] *Ancient India*, quarterly journal of the Archaeological Survey of India, has also stressed on this point as follows:

> The technical details about the preparation of surface for wall paintings and application of different kinds of colours together with the process of tinting and shading are preserved in the Sanskrit texts on painting such as *Visnudharmotra Puran* and *Silparatna* etc.[20]

The artists in the Punjab and Phulkian region, whether local or emigre, always depended upon the material and pigments which were available to them locally. They were proficient in preparation of these materials, i.e. paper, brushes, colours etc. Only then they were groomed as artists and *naqqashas*.

Material utilised in mural painting in Punjab is mostly drawn from Jaipur-Jodhpuri combine as Rajasthan is known to have developed this from medieval times. The descendant artists of this technique used to be invited by the patrons from far off places. Hence, these people reached the Punjab and Phulkian regions and popularised their way of working in their peculiar style and technique, Rajasthani i.e. Jaipur fresco method, which was applied in the architecture of Mughal period at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, was also applied at Patiala and Amritsar. It may be described below:

> In the modern Jaipur method lime used for preparing the ground is at first perfectly slaked. It must remain under water for a week or more. After this, sand double in proportion to the

unslaked lime is added. This mixture is thoroughly ground. This plaster can then be used on rough stone or brick walls. The plaster is applied in their coating, wetting the walls. It is thoroughly pressed into the joints and crevices and beaten edgeways with thin strip of wood until it becomes slightly dry. Then it is again wetted and another thin coat applied. This process is repeated again and again till the plaster is at last a quarter of an inch thick. Then it is carefully levelled and allowed to dry.

The marble lime for the final coating on which the painting is done is carefully prepared. It should be perfectly slaked and for that it is kept under water for months, sometimes, even a year for the best works. Curds (*dahi*) are mixed with the lime in proportion of half a seer of curds to half a maund of dry lime. The mixture is stirred well and allowed to stand overnight. Next day water is drained and fresh water added. This process is repeated for a week, then lime is ready to be used.

Only such part of surface is wetted which can be painted in a day. A mixture of some ground plaster and fresco lime is prepared to the consistency of the cream applied to the surface in two or three coatings of fresco lime and rubbed over with a flat stone. When these coatings are a little dry the surface is polished with an agate burnisher to impart it a beautiful sheen.[21]

Almost in the same manner and technique the fresco painting was done in Amritsar and some parts of Lahore in the nineteenth century. Late Bhai Gian Singh Naqqash has given the details as below:

To start off, one square foot of the brick work on the even wall is made, and kept wet to requirement by continuous sprinkling of water. Thereafter the area is plastered with lime (this plaster is called *pora*). On this plaster is cast a layer of *doga*, the curd-like residue of white plaster prepared from burnt and drenched marble duly cloth-filtered. Before casting *doga*, the *pora* is plastered with the rough remains, called *kutta*, of white marble plaster, from the cloth-filtered materials. This makes the lime plaster stronger as well as whiter than its original condition. When the *doga* is still wet, the drawing is cast on the area by means of charcoal dust sprinkled, from cloth-knots (called *potli*), on and through the perforated drawing contacting the plaster. Immediately thereafter (the ground being still wet), colours are distributed in the different planes of the drawing transferred on the plaster. The colours are then set into the plaster by means of a small wooden showel (called *nehla*), with slight hunch in the middle. This showel is kept constantly thumping gently on the wet plaster manually. This process requires unabated attention, and artists are known to have generally gone without meals to ensure the setting of colours before the plaster dried up.

Once these original colours are thus established, further colour coatings are gone into for bringing out details, giving tones to the required planes and for imparting the final touches to the painting. The entire operation requires that the area is definitely wet throughout.

The colours used in fresco paintings are not the one now popularly known as water-colours, or the tube-oil colours. These latter colours can hardly stand the test of time. The fresco colours specially prepared for this particular kind of job are as described below:

(a) *Red.* This is prepared from an indigenous clay called *Hirumchi*. It comes down generally from Hill areas, and is available with grocers. It is pulverised by constant rubbing with water on stone slabs. The intensity of redness always depends upon the fineness of the pulverised clay.
(b) *Black.* This is prepared from burnt coconut crust in the same way as described above.
(c) *Green.* The source of this colour is a sort of green stone, called *sang-e-sabz*. Small chips of this stone are pulverised with water.
(d) *Yellow.* This colour is obtained from yellow clay and is of an exceptionally charming hue requiring plenty of strain in the making.



63. Rani Gaddan of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 19th century, Fakir Khana Musium, Lahore (Pakistan).



64. Rani Gul Begum, Queen of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 19th century, Fakir Khana Museum, Lahore (Pakistan).



65. Rani Moran Sarkar, an other queen of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 19th century, Fakir Khana Museum, Lahore (Pakistan).



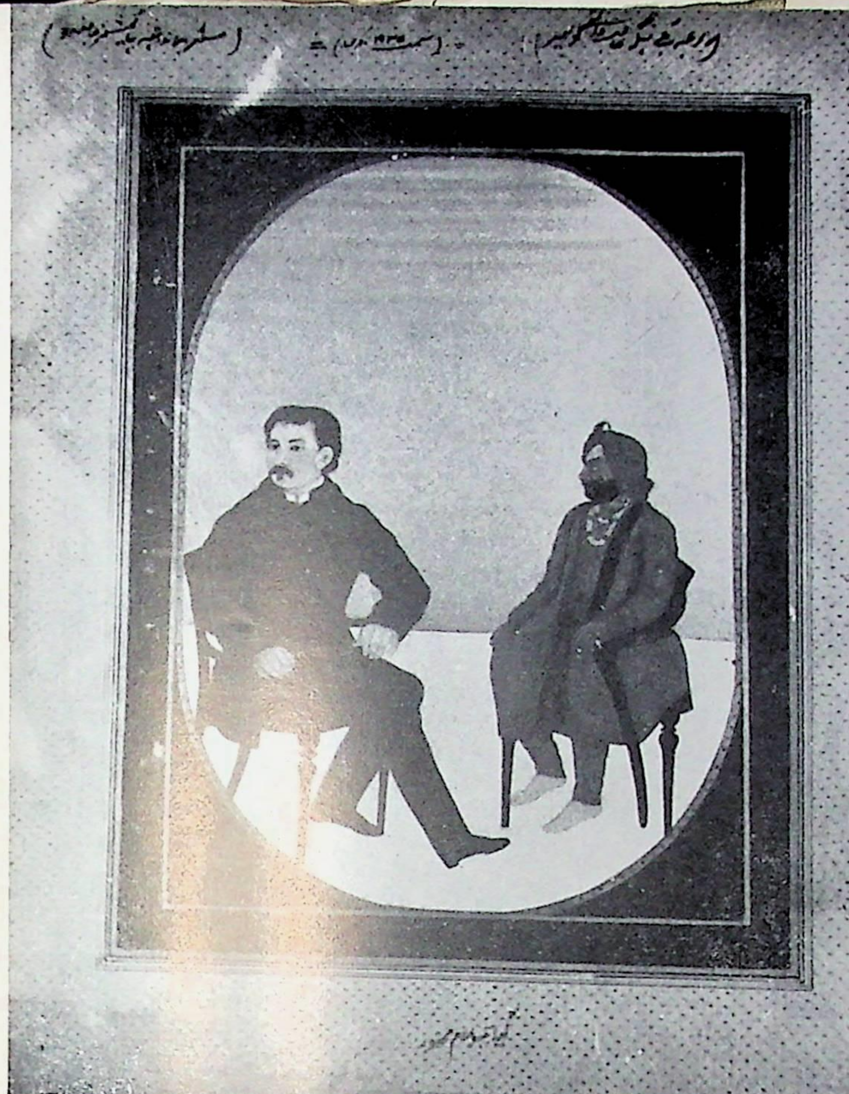
66. Maharani Jindan (1816-63), one of the twenty queens of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 19th century, Government Museum, Amritsar.



67. Raja Ranbir Singh, (1879-1888) ruler of Jhind, 19th century, Government Museum, Chandigarh.



68. Raja Sangat Singh, (1782-1832) ruler of Jhind, 19th century, Government Museum, Chandigarh.



70. Raja Jai Singh of Guler, Government Museum, Chandigarh, by artist Ghyathu Ram.



69. Raja Gajpat Singh, (1754-1889) ruler of Jhind, Government Museum, Chandigarh.



71. Guru Nanak Dev along with Bala and Mardana, Collection of Prof Pritam Singh of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.

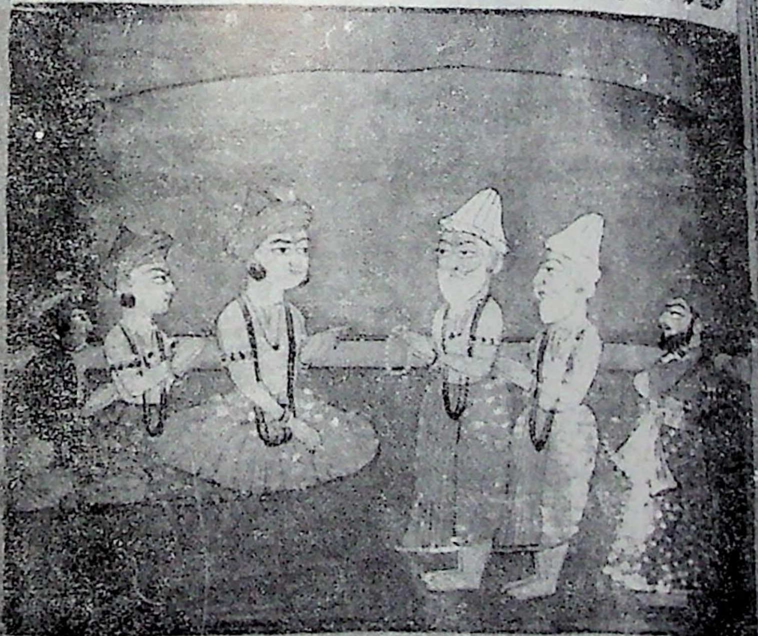


72. Shishai Vishnu, Collection of Prof Pritam Singh of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar.



73. Janam Sakhi of Guru Nanak, 19th century, Anonymous collection, Amritsar.

74. Conversation of Guru Nanak Dev with Sidha saints, 19th century, Anonymous collection, Amritsar.





75. Colophon page of an illustrated manuscript "Janam Sakhi", Anonymous collection, Amritsar.



بعد از ثنای ذات پاک سری کیول سروپ سرده شکهت
که همه نور ها پرتو نور اوست بر ضمایر فیض مظاهر طالبان رموز
وحدت و واقفان اسرار معرفت مخفی و مستور نماناد که پوران
فیض بنیان مهاشیو پوران که بزبان سنسکرت که مشتمل بر هفتاد و چار
ادهیاست و بفارسی عبارت از فصل باشد مندرج است
بجهة حصول برکات خوانندگان و شنوندگان بفارسی ترجمه
کرده شده تا کسانیکه از علم سنسکرت بهره ندارند بعبارت

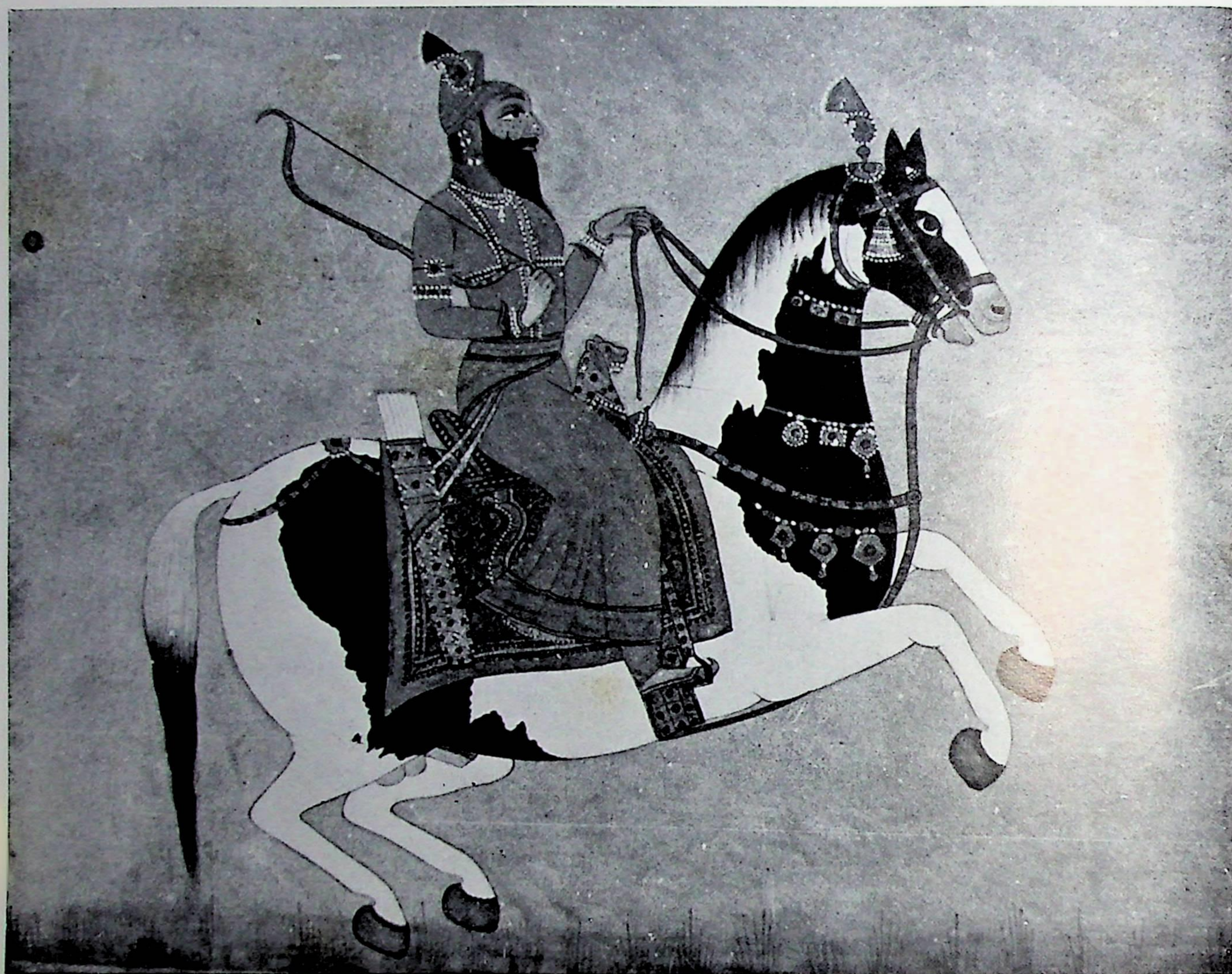
76. Ganapati, Central Public Library, Patiala.



77. Panch-Mukhi Shiva with Panch-Mukhi Parvati, Central Public Library, Patiala.



78. Shiva, Parvati and Ganesa, Parvati combing the hair of Shiva. Central Public Library, Patiala.



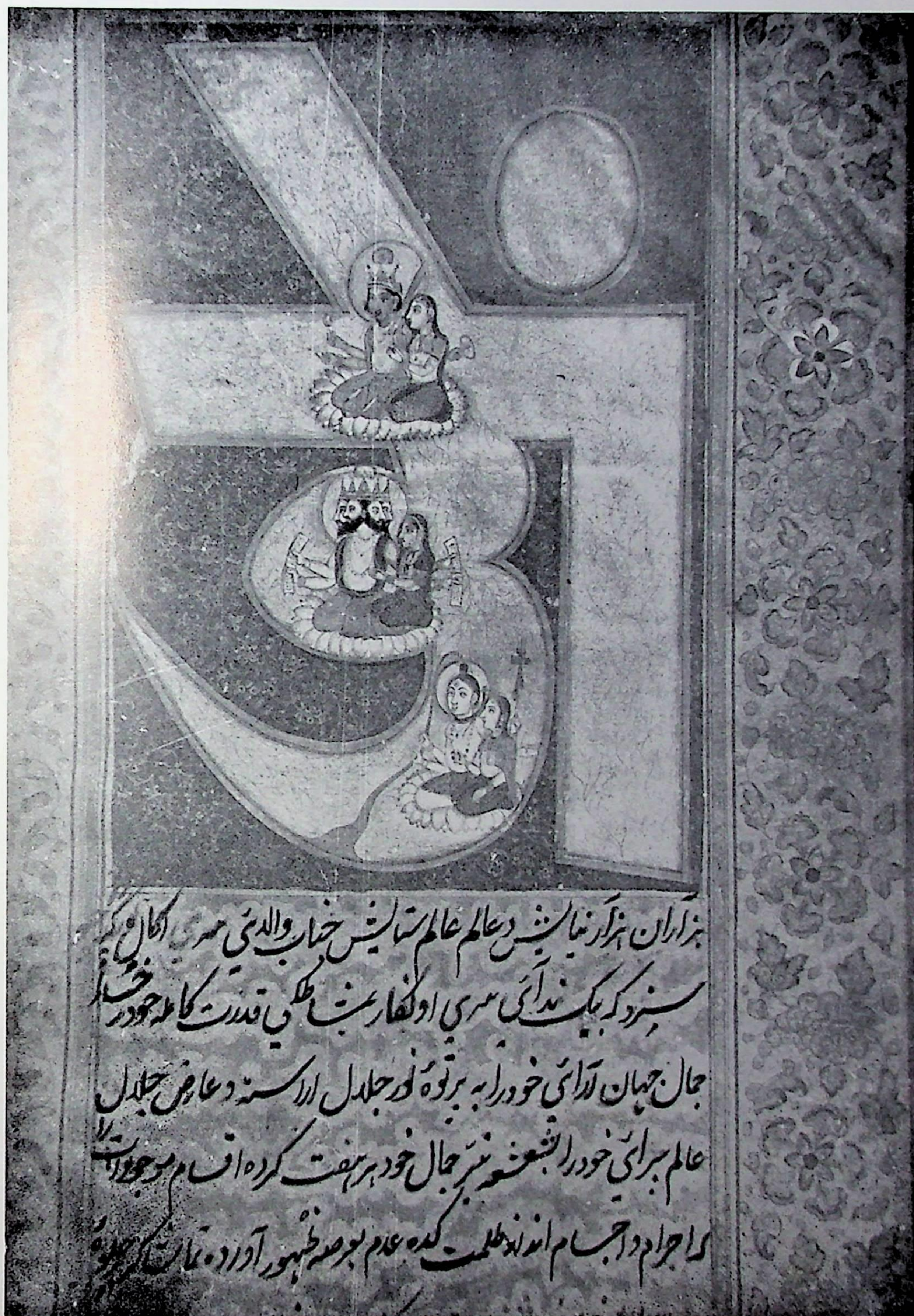
79. Maharaja Fateh Singh Ahluwalia of Kapurthala, (1789-1837) 19th century, Central Public Library, Patiala.



80. Maharaja Fateh Singh Ahluwalia of Kapurthala (1789-1837), 19th century,



81. Maharaja Fateh Singh Ahluwalia of Kapurthala, 1789-1837) 19th century,



82. Vishnu, Lakshmi, Brahma and Shiva-Parvati in Om, Government Museum, Amritsar.



83. Guru Gobind Singh riding horse, Government Museum, Amritsar.



84. Maharaja Ranjit Singh with his ministers, Government Museum, Amritsar.



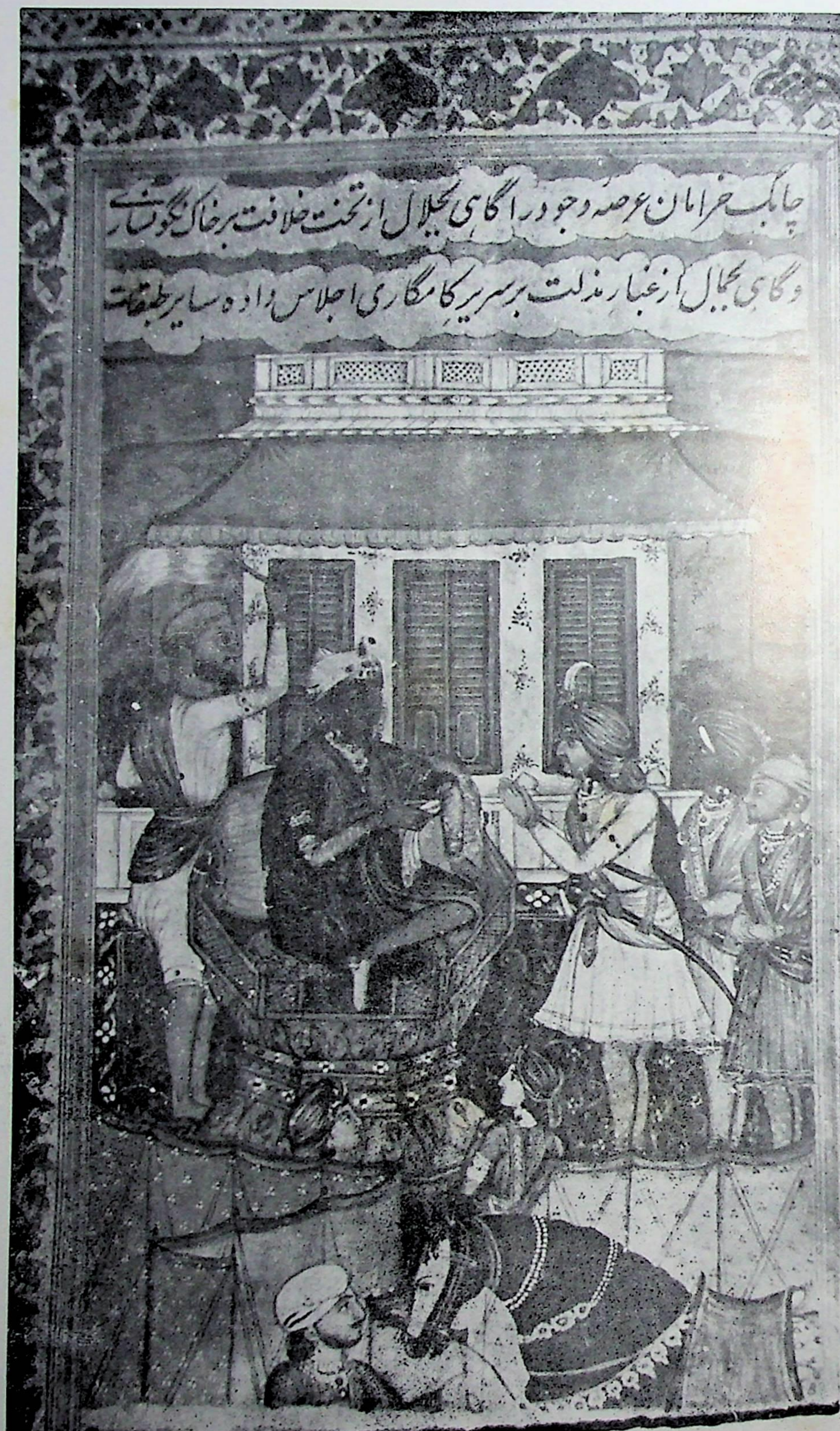
85. Guru Har Rai, Government Museum, Amritsar.



86. Soldiers doing exercises,
Government Museum, Amritsar.



87. Maharaja Ranbir Singh of Jammu and
Wazir Labh Jio attending him,
Punjab Government Archives, Patiala.



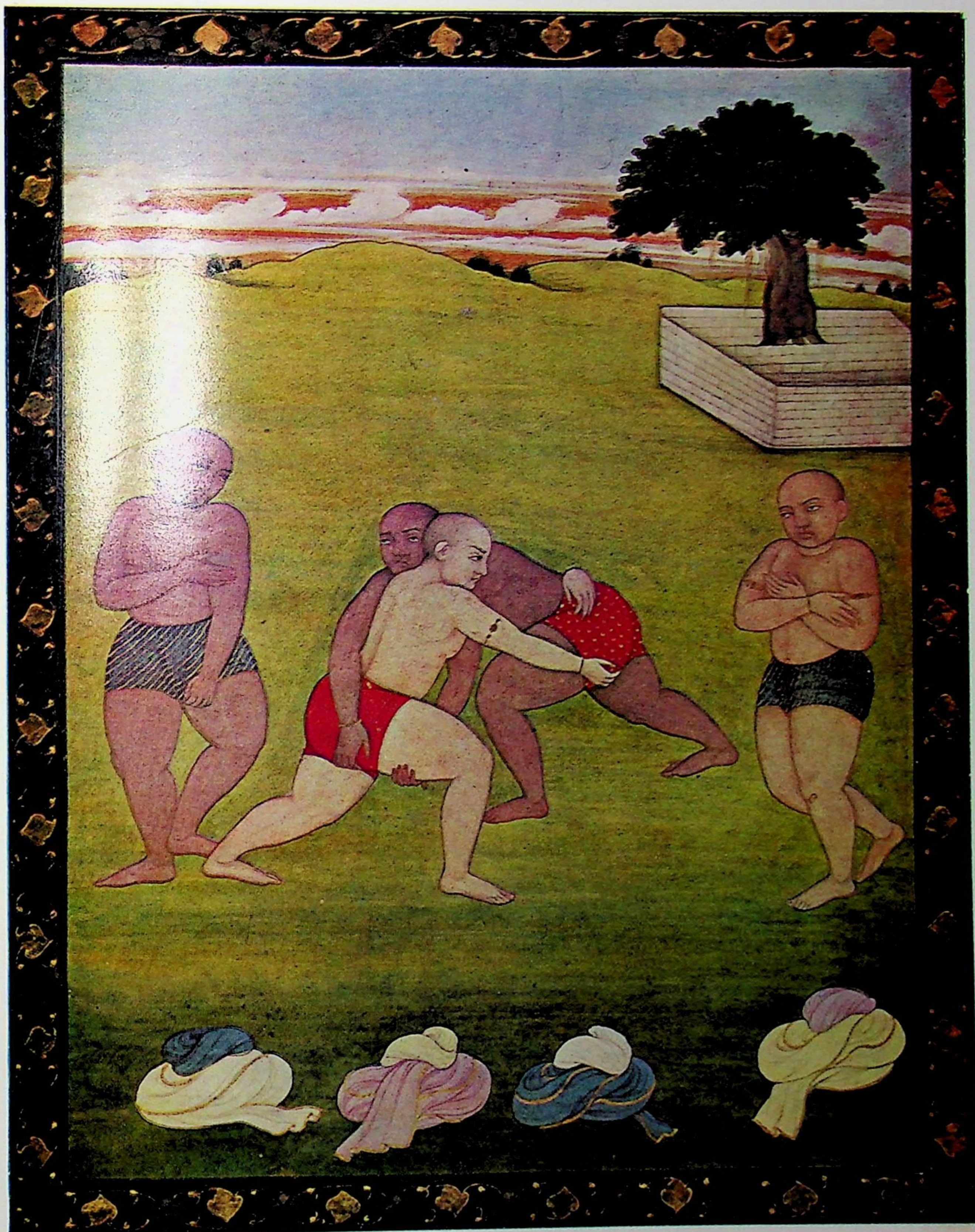
88. Jmaginary Picture of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Punjab Government Archives, Patiala.



89. Maharaja Sher Singh in conversation with Raja Dhian Singh, Punjab Government Archives, Patiala.



90. Kanwar Naunihal Singh, Punjab Government Archives, Patiala.



IX. Wrestlers by Abdullah Painter, Sikh period (1799-1839) Lahore. Courtesy Chughtai Museum Trust, Lahore (Pakistan).

X. Prince in Palace by Imam Bakhsh, Kharadi Mohallah, Lahore, nineteenth century. Courtesy Chughtai Museum Trust, Lahore (Pakistan).



(e) *Blue*. This is mixture ultramarine with process glue.
(f) *White*. Burnt marble chips are drenched in water (like limestone). The mixture is then filtered. The curd-like substance thus settled is put to use. This is also called *doga*.

All other colours, except green are toned up or otherwise, by mixing white colour. Green is treated with yellow clay.

Colours required for use in fresco painting are always kept wet with water in earthen receptacles. Dried colours are of no use.

Similarly the brushes (*qalams*) are prepared by the artist themselves from squirrel tail or goat and camel hair for use in fresco painting.

Gach work. This type of work can be seen in plenty in the first storey of the Golden Temple, Amritsar (main shrine) over Har-ki-Pauri. Verses from the *Guru Granth Sahib* have been rendered in this style by Bhai Gian Singh Naqqash.

Gach work is a sort of stone (gypsum). This is pounded and fried in a pan. During the course of frying, the standard of its heat-treatment is tested by mixing small quantities of water. When the desired results are achieved, the material is put to use. It is further prepared, by mixing water, only in such limited quantities as the artist can at a time make use of because it dries up in a minute or two, becomes stone again, and is not fit for use then. This *gach* is first applied like lime, then it is shaved with steel cutters and other implements and fashioned out in floral designs while still in a semi-wet stage. After the entire design is dry, it is covered with yellow colour mixed with varnish and then pasted over with gold leaves (*varags*).

Tukri work. *Tukri* work involves the setting in of the pieces (*tukris*) of glass of various sizes in the *gach* work. The style was very popular with Mughal aristocracy. It received sufficient patronage from the Sikh chiefs also.

Gach work is cut out into various designs and is then inlaid with coloured glass, mirror glass, gold leaves, etc. Normal glass is based generally on coloured frosted copper.

Original thin glass pots are polished on the inside with mercury (this glass is called *Pachika Sheesha*). These are then broken and the pieces cut to sizes with the help of the sharp edge of special stone, called *krund* to suit the floral and other details cut out from *gach* work. At places precious stones are also set in the cuts. Buildings containing such work are generally called Sheesh-Mahal or glass-homes.

Jarat Kari work (*Munavat*). *Jarat Kari* work involves the inlaying of coloured stone in marble. This art is also a legacy of the *naqqashas*. The artist prepares the drawing and transfers the drawing from the paper on to the slab. This drawing is then made *pucca* by the *naqqash*. The marble stone-dresser (*pathar ghara*) engraves the required depths in the marble slab. The original drawing complete with colour scheme is given by the *naqqash* to the coloured stone dresser (called *begaria*) for cutting patterns from multi-coloured stones. These patterns are then set in the slab by *pathar ghara*.

The following stones are generally used in *Jarat Kari*:

(a) *Haquque*—Red and pink shade
(b) *Zehar Mohra*—Green
(c) *Khattu Pathar*—Yellow
(d) *Sabz Pathar*—(*Ghaar*) dark green
(e) *Sabz Pathar*—(*Nargis*) green
(f) *Sang Yashap*—Green, light-green-white and blue
(g) *Sang Pasham*—Light green
(h) *Lajward*—Ultramarine
(i) *Black marble*
(j) *Arabic*, *Smak*—Light black and other various kinds of stones

Special stones in natural colours, to suit the subject (with necessary fibrous and other texture) are cut out by hand with considerable effort and with the help of special implements, to fit in the carvings in marble slabs. Coloured stone of considerable size has to be cut and recut for fashioning out the required pattern.[22]

In Lahore, Amritsar and at some other places, *Kashi* work (also known as *Mohra Kashi*) was very much in vogue. This was done to decorate the buildings and religious denominational houses, palaces and other residential houses of nobility in the nineteenth-century Punjab. This type of work, as already mentioned in Bhai Gian Singh's work, was complementary to mural painting done in the same buildings, where *Mohra Kashi* was done. Hence, mural painting and *Mohra Kashi* work were interrelated and interdependent on each other. Therefore, it has been thought proper to add here some ideas on *Mohra Kashi* also which were in existence in Punjab at that time. Sayyad Muhammad Latif, who was Assistant Commissioner in Punjab in 1892, has given a most thorough and critical account of this vocation as below:

> The art of decorating with enamelled or glazed tiles, known in the Punjab as *Kashi* or *Chini* work, is of Arabic origin having been imported into Europe by the Arabs at the end of ninth century. It was adopted by Italians under the name of *Majolica*, in the manufacture of earthenware in the fourteenth century. Having been thus introduced into Europe it made rapid strides in improvement and in time, gave birth to porcelain wares of Limoges, Dresden, Sevres and Pladssy.
>
> It was introduced in India from China, through Persia by the Mughals, at the end of thirteenth century (and, according to tradition, the influence of Taimurlane's Chinese wife had much to do with its introduction in Eastern countries. It had assisted in other forms among semitic nations from the fourteenth century.
>
> Major Cole R.E. finds employment of glazed tiles for architecture purposes dates from Rhamses II (1452 B.C.). The Chinese used coloured porcelain in their buildings from an early period, "but so far", writes Major Cole, "as I have been able to ascertain, the first Mohammadan building in which glazed tiles were used, according to Prisse, dates from A.D. 965, and according to Fergusson from A.D. 1200."
>
> Fergusson gives the celebrated mosque of Tabrez, built about the end of the thirteenth century, as the earliest instance in Persia of glazed tiles. That was built just after the conquest of Persia by the Mughals. The next is described as the tomb of Muhammad Khuda Bandah in Sultaniah, built by the successor of Ghazan Khan, the founder of Mosque at Tabrez.
>
> The earliest instance of the employment of glazed tiles for external decorations at Lahore is the tomb of Shah Musa, built in the time of Ibrahim Lodhi (A.D. 1519) or a little time before India was invaded by Babar. But the art did not come into general use until the time of Mughals, and in the time of Shah Jehan it took a new form. The use of encaustic was, at this time, to a great extent, discontinued, and the decorations were executed on a hard kind of cement. This process being probably cheaper, the *Kashi* designs were universally adopted in the period of Shah Jehan and we hardly meet with a mosque, tomb, gateway of this period which is not decorated with *Kashi* work. Strangely, writes Mr Thornton, the *Kashi* design, as an architectural ornament, became almost entirely disused after the time of Shah Jehan and the art was almost lost to the Punjab. But the art has almost died out in both India and Persia, which employed it so largely on architectural ornamentation, and, while it has thus disappeared from the countries of the East its home and place of birth, those of the West, which applied it to articles of everyday use, have made great progress in it.
>
> With regard to *Kashi* work at Lahore, it may be mentioned here that there lived in A.D. 1876, in that town, an artist in the work named Muhammad Bakhsh. He was ninety-seven years of age and with him the secret of *Kashi* work probably died, for he steadily refused to take pupils.[23]

Col. H.R. Goulding and T.H. Thornton have jointly expressed similar views about the historical

background of *Kashi* work and its relative significance as a medium of mural painting in the architectural monuments of Lahore and Amritsar. Right from the period of Shah Jehan to the times of Ranjit Singh, palaces, forts, gateways, mausoleums, *samadhas*, personal residences of Muslim, Hindu, and Sikh nobility show presence of external decoration by means of *Kashi* work.[24]

Goulding and Thornton have given us the chemical analysis report of the material used in *Kashi* work. This analysis was carried out by Dr Centre, chemical examiner to Punjab government, on the basis of specimens of *Kashi* work. It runs thus:

> It consists essentially of a layer of glass spread on hard kind of plaster sometimes on a material porcellaneous in structure. On an analysis the glass was found to be an ordinary silicate coloured by metallic oxides. The plaster was found to be composed of a mixture of lime and siliceous sand, the hardness being due to silication, which accounts for its bearing the heat required to fuse glass. It is remarkable that an old Buddhist cast was found to be composed of a similar material. I got specimens made at the laboratory by an old man who practises the art at Lahore, but the work was very inferior. The glaze wanted polish, he made his plaster as hard as a stone. The first specimens in Lahore are to be seen on Wazir Khan's mosque, where the glazing is very fine, but the plaster is easily broken, so that it has been destroyed in many places.
>
> The work consists of three parts: first, the plaster called *khamir*; second, the glass called *kaunch*, and the third material is *asther*, put between them. The first operation is to make an easily fusible glass by melting pounded siliceous sand stone with carbonate of soda. Portions of glass are pounded, mixed and fused with metallic oxides to produce glasses of various colours. Considerable skill was shown in producing the oxides from the metals or from the raw materials of the bazar. In particular, a species of black sand got from Ajmer is used to furnish three colours—black, green and blue. It contains sulpharet of copper and magnetic iron sand. These were separated by washing according to their specific gravities and were reduced to oxides in the furnace.
>
> The *khamir* is made by mixing siliceous sand, lime and a quantity of pounded glass first prepared, and according to the quantity of glass used it turns a hard kind of mortar, or has a porcellaneous structure. It is made into a paste with rice water, and cut into pieces suitable for the pattern. It is then dried at the gentle heat, and afterwards covered with *asther* which consists of lime or pounded glass containing a large quantity of lead. This is suspended in viscid fluid and painted on the plaster and its use is to cover small inequalities and to act as a medium to unite the glass and the plaster.
>
> The coloured glasses are then pounded, suspended in a viscid fluid made from mucilaginous plants and painted over the *asther*, and the whole is placed in the furnace till all the glass on the surface fused. The pieces of the pattern are then put in their places and fixed by cement.[25]

Now we shall take up the discussion of manuscripts and miniatures—their material and technique.

Manuscripts and Miniatures

After discussing material and technique of mural painting in Punjab, we come to the material and technique used in manuscript and miniature painting. Although literature on this technical aspect of painting is not available in Punjab, scholars outside have contributed significant information in this regard. Muni Shri Punyavijayji, a Jain scholar specialist on manuscripts—its history and preservation—who spent more than fifty years working in Jain Bhandars of Rajasthan, Gujarat and Saurashtra, has given us some information relating to the preparation of manuscripts—its material and technique.[26] After him Agar Chand Nahatta of Bikaner has provided us useful information regarding the preparation of colours and pigments for use in pictures. Nahatta has done this on the basis of letters discovered by him from old artists of the nineteenth century.[27] Agar Chand Nahatta is an octagenarian Hindi scholar and has widely written on Jain art, religion and manuscript illustrations. These letters are reproduced below followed by English translation.

अथ चित्रगारी करण री विधि लिख्यते

सरवरंग घोट देणा, सीलाड़ी ऊपर खूब महीन बांटणाः पछै पांच पाना जाडा लेवी से छापने सुकाय देणा सूकां पछै तसवीर रो अलंकार करने सरव रंग भर देणा, पछै रंग सूकाँ, पछी तसवीर रै थोड़ी हवा देने मोहरे सु सरव घोट देणी ।।

तसवीर घोटियां पछै जिहां सोनो छापणो होय जिहां सरसे गालने पीची सु देणो पछै घड़ी अध घड़ी ने सोनेरा वरक छापणा वरक छापने पछै जिहां गेहणा में मोती पना लाला थे खावणा इस वास्ते सपेटो असल छोटी थोड़ी होय जीण सु मोती झीणा झीणा करणा जिहां करणा होय जिहां पछै स्याई रो कसम रो काम करणो केस वगैरै सरव कपड़ा री कलम काली सरव पछै करणी । इति तसवीर करण री विगत संपूरण ।।

पेहली तसवीर में सोनो छापणो होय दुपटा रापला तथा गेहणा मुगट कुंडल सरव पीली पेवड़ी रा कर देणा । तसवीर ने पांचू ही रंग भरने पछै सीला ऊपर घोटणी थोड़ी पाणी री हवा देने संख से तथा मोहरा से घोटणी । पछै सरैस से सोनेर बरक चेपणा पीली पेवड़ी ऊपरै ।। पछै सपेते रा मुगट कुंडल वाजु बंधा ने नग जड़वा तथा गला में मोतीयां माला करणी हुवै तो सपेते री करणी सोने रै वरका रै ऊपर पछै दाढ़ी मुछ तसवीर घोटीयां पीछै करणाः ज्युं सफाई कलम री आवै ।।

अथ रंगा री बीगत लिख्यते

१—धोलो रंग सपेतो ।

२—रातो रंग हीगलु (१) सीदुंर (२) अलता पोथी (३) कीरमज अंगरेजी रंग लाल हुवै है उमदा दस आना में ममोई में सीसी आवै है ।

३—हरीयो लीलो रंग लीलो अंगरेजी सैलू १ और आगरा कीं जंगाल लीला रग री अच्छी हुवै है उमदा ।

४—पीली रंग गऊ गोली पीली पवड़ी होवै है ।

५—असमानी सोररी गरदन सरीखो रंग असमानी सेलू मिले छै दुकानों में ।

६—कालो रंग कागज घोटने करणो ।

और २ ममोई, कीलकत्ते में रूपरी तथा सानैरी पीतलरी स्याइरी भूकीरी पुड़िया मीले है । एक पुड़ीरा आना चार लागै है सा जांणणी ।

अब रंगरी मिलावट करै जद रंग घणी तरेका होवै है वी वीघरा जीणरी विगत लिख्यतं ।।

१—विभूति रंग असमानी सेलु सपेतो मेलणो ।

२—कमैत रंग घोड़ा रो ।

३—बेंगणीया रंग ।

४—सुआपखं ो रंग लीलो सेलू सी पेवड़ी नांखणी ।

५—अनार रंग ।

६—माणस रंग सपेतो, पेवड़ी, हींगुल ।

७—सब्जी रंग ।

८—असमानी रंग ।

९—अलता रंग लाल बोरड़ी री छुवै जीण ने उकाले मांहे जोद सोहगी । नीखै उकलता में जद् अलता रंग त्यार होवै है ।

१०—हाथी रंग ।

सोनेरा वरक चेपणा तसवीर में जीण जीण जगा ।। जीण जगा पेहली पीली पेवड़ी रो रंग दे देणो, पछै सोनरा वरक चेपण पीण पेवड़ी क्यां वीना सोनेरा वरक नहीं चेपणा और वरक सरेस से चेप्णा चीतारां सरेस सूं चेपे है ।

फेर कोईक वरक चेपे है । कुलड़ी में सकर तथा गुल जुनो अमल तथा बांवल रो गुदं कुलड़ी में पाणी में गालने उकालणा खुब पछै तसवीर रे लगावणा पछे वरक चेपणा । इती वरक चेपण री वीधी दुजी जांण वी ।।

भिन्न पत्रै :—अथ पक्की स्याही विधि :—

लाखा रस समुत्फाल्य, बोख्श गुण जलं क्षिपेत् ।
लोध्र सर्जक सौभाग्य, मुत्फलमतायां तु प्रक्षिपेत् ॥ १ ॥
कगालो परि बिंदु मेकं, मुच्यते च. सुधी नरः ।
यदा न स्फुटि पत्रं, तदा भवति उतमा ॥ २ ॥

कच्ची स्याही की विधि :—

कज्जला द्वि गुणं बोलं बोला उद् गुन्दं चतुर्गुणा ।
विजयसार संमर्यात् ।ताम्रपत्रस्य घोटकात् ॥ १ ॥
घोटकं निषकरयापि मर्द्दये दि्न सप्तकै ॥

तथा कच्ची स्याही ॥ काजल पाव दमाद अ । =बीजाबोल पाव अ् ॥। =गुंद खैरको सेर डीन अ्३=विजयसार आध वावअ् =नील आध पाव अ् =फिटकड़ी आध पाव अ् =नींव को रस पाव एक अ् । =जल भांगरो रस पा अ् । =गोमूत लागै जितू नं ही लगावणु ॥

(पत्र १ अभय जैन ग्रन्थालय)

स्याही विधि :—कुक्योः स्याही की एक जुगति है—

किण णौ पइसा च्यारी । तेली सुहागो पोंण भरि-लोद अधेला डारि ।
लोद मवैला डारि, छदाम भरि साजी घालो ।
पाणी है सेर तीन, गोहोड़ि वजीतो थालो ॥
रढत रढत आधो रहै, तवतै धरौ अतारि ।
स्याही की यह जुगति है, किण जो पइसा च्यारि ॥ १ ॥

श्लोक :—
कजला दि गुणं बोलः बोला चतुर्गुणं गुंद ।
घिपैंत दश रात्राणि, मषी भवति असी चिन् । १ ।
जेतो काजल तेतो बोल, चीढ़ चौगुणो बोहौ घोल ।
जैटुक रस भंगर की पाइ, कागद फुटि अंक नहीं जाय । २ ।

पत्र १, अभय जैन ग्रन्थालय, बीकानेर । चि० उपरोक्त दोनों पत्र १९वीं सिस्ते हैं ।

अथ रंग करवा री विधः

दोह भाग हरताल अ् पेवड़ी एक भाग गुली इतनो हयो वर्ण होई । पेवड़ी हींगलू सम करी बांहियै विदामी रंग २ नोल भाग १ दोढो हींगलू बांटीयै बैंगणीया रंग ३ सपेदी अलतो २ लाइ असमानी रंग ४ सपेदा गुली पौथीतन कसाक० थोड़ी मिलायां सोसनी रंग सपेदा सिंदूर पेवड़ी गोरी होई=सपेदा सिंदूर थोड़ी सी स्याही मीना मुख रंग होई सपेदा हींगलू मुगला रंग सपेदा पेवड़ी थोड़ी सी पोथी हिरण बाघरंग होई=सिंदूर गुली बूंजआ रंग होइ=सपेदा गुली असमानी रंग=सपेदो गुली पोथी बैंगणीया रंग जांबू रंग=सपेदा स्याही थोड़ी हाथी रंग=सतेदा पेवड़ी गुली सबजीया रंग सूबा सरीखो=टीकोड़ी गुली नीला रंग=टीकौड़ी जंगाला बहुत नीला रंग=हरताल गुली नीला रंग=पेवड़ी स्याही पान रंग=सिंदूर पेवड़ी केसरिया रंग=सपेदा जंगाल सालू रंग हाइ=सपेदा गुली गुलाब रंग=पेवड़ी पोथी स्याही यावर रंगः स्याही हरमूज काटू रंगः वानी सिंदूर घोड़ा रंग=हरताल पेवरी गुली सब्ज नीला रंग=सर्व रंग मांही गूंद अथवा स्याही सरेस वाहणी रंग कै वजन की घोलण ।

Methods of Painting Recorded

Grind all the colours on a stone slab; apply the paste for fixing five papers, and let it dry, then, draw the picture and colour it with all the colours. After the colours are dry, burnish it with rounded agate to smooth.

After burnishing the picture where gold is to be applied, first glue or gelatine is applied on the surface. Rubies and emeralds are painted with the help of white zinc. Hair and other things are to be done with the brush of cloth. Thus ends the technique of picture making.

Before applying gold in painting was *peori* in ornaments, *mukat* (head-gear), then apply the fine colours, burnish it with stone slab, dry it with air, then burnish it with conch. Thereafter, apply glue or animal gelatine (*sares*) on the *peori*, followed by golden work: *mukat kundal* (head-dress ornaments), armlets, necklace gems are to be done by zinc white; beard, mustachios are to be painted after burnishing it smooth, all followed by gold work, so that the brush work may be fine.

Method of Colour

1. Prepare white colour.
2. *Hingul* colour (a) vermilion, (b) *alta pothi*, (c) *krimchi* colour in red is available for ten annas per vial from Bombay.
3. Green-blue *angrezi* I and Agra's blue is preferred.
4. Yellow colour is cow's yellow colour.
5. Sky colour is available from the shops.
6. Black is prepared from paper.

And silver, golden and grass colour packets are available from Bombay and Calcutta at the rate of four annas, be it known to you.

When the colours are thick or dark, the remedy is as follows:

1. Mix white zinc with blue.
2. Burnt sienna is horse's colour.
3. Violet colour.
4. Blue colour with peach colour.
5. Pomegranate colour.
6. Human colour: white zinc, *peori* and *hinglu*.
7. Green colour.
8. Sky colour.
9. *Alta* colour is prepared from lac.
10. Elephant colour.

Whenever the golden work is desired to be applied, first the ground is given the coat of *peori* colour, then gold work is applied with the help of gelatine as is done by the artist.

Then again if any work is to be pasted, here is a method. Boil sugar and the flower of *juno amal* and *banwal* after kneading it in any earthen pot with some water. Boil it well, then apply it on the picture, then paste the golden work.

This is the second method of painting, be it known.

Method of Making Permanent Ink

Lac and juice of *lodh* are the best solution for the preparation of ink. Pages of the book can be withered but the ink cannot be washed away.

Method of Making Washable Ink

Composition of *kajal*, *bijabol*, *gum* of *khair*, *vijaysar*, indigo, *phatkari*, juice of *margosa*, juice of *hashish*, cow's urine according to requirement.

Preparation of the above Ingredients

Kajal	1½ pao i.e. 375 g
Bijabol	3 pao i.e. 750 g
Gum khairka	3 seers i.e. 3 kg
Indigo	½ pao i.e. 125 g
Phatkari	½ pao i.e. 125 g
Juice of margosa	1 pao i.e. 250 g
Juice of hashish	1 pao i.e. 250 g
Urine of cow	according to requirement

One More Method of Making Ink

Suhaga ¾ part, *lodh* 100 g, *sajji* 50 g, *wata* 3 kg—it should be kept boiling for half an hour, then it should be removed from the fire. This method is very cheap and useful.

This is such a method of preparation of ink that paper might tear off but the ink shall not.

Colour Composition Technique

1. Two parts *hartal* + one part *guli* is equal to green colour.
2. *Peori* + *hingul* equal parts is equal to almond colour.
3. 2 blue + 1½ part *hingul* is equal to violet colour.
4. 3 white zinc + *alto* is equal to sky colour.
5. 4 white zinc + *gul pothitan kassak* is equal to *sosini* colour.
6. White zinc + vermilion *peori* is equal to fair complexion.
7. White zinc + little bit of *kajal* is equal to grey complexion.
8. White zinc + *hingul* is equal to *mughla* colour.
9. White zinc + *peori* + *pathi hiran* is equal to lion colour.
10. Vermilion + *guli* is equal to *ambna* colour.
11. White + *guli* is equal to sky colour.
12. White + *guli* + *pathi baigania* is equal to violet.
13. White + black ink is equal to elephant colour.
14. White + *peori* + *guli* is equal to green colour.
15. *Tikri* + *guli* is equal to blue colour.
16. *Tikri* + *jangal* is equal to Prussian blue.
17. *Hartal* + *guli* is equal to blue colour.
18. *Peori* + *sthai* is equal to betel leaf colour.
19. Vermilion *sindur* + *peori* is equal to *kasaria* (saffron) colour.
20. White + *jangal* is equal to *salu* colour.
21. White + *guli* is pinkish rose colour.
22. *Peori* + *poth sthai* is equal to *yawar* colour.
23. *Sthai* + *hiramju* is *katoo* colour.
24. *Bani* + *sindur* is equal to horse's colour.
25. *Hartal* + *peori guli* is equal to green blue colour.

All the colours are prepared by kneading; ink and gelatine are used by weight.
Thus ends the technique of colour preparation.

Dr O.P. Agrawal, Director, National Central Conservation Laboratory, Lucknow (formerly of Central Conservation Laboratory, New Delhi) has done chemical and physical analysis of illustrated manuscripts yielding valuable data relating to material and technique aspects as given below. Since his results are based purely on scientific grounds, it is worthwhile to quote here. Its applicability to Punjab miniature painting is valid and appropriate, as Dr Agrawal's analysis was based on all-India basis. Similar prescriptions of material and pigments have been provided by Dr Moti Chandra in 1949,[28] by Y.K. Bukhari in 1963[29] and then by Dr Anis Farooqi in 1977.[30]

Dr O.P. Agrawal's Analysis

Very old paper manuscripts are not available in India. The reason for this is perhaps the highly destructive nature of the Indian climate. Further it is generally held that paper came to India in about the eleventh century. Dr M. Abdullah Chughtai of Lahore (Pakistan) has also proved this data to be as correct.[31] By the sixteenth century many centres of paper manufacture came to be established. The chief of these centres were Daulatabad, Nizambad, Kalpi, Patna, Sangner, Kashmir, Sialkot, etc.

The chief raw material used for the manufacture of paper were bamboo, jute, flax, cotton, silk cocoons, old discarded fishing net etc. It is said that paper manufactured from old discarded fishing nets was very white because the flax obtained from it was perfectly bleached.

Pigments

There are four varieties of pigments used for painting:

1. Mineral,
2. Chemical,
3. Vegetable, and
4. Animal.

We shall take up their study according to the colours they produce.

Red

1. *Red ochre—vernacular name, geru*: Red ochre is available in various shades. Generally it is light and warm. It has been intensively used in Indian paintings.[32] For use as a pigment, a piece of red ochre was rubbed on stone and the powder thus obtained was washed to remove all impurities. After drying, the binding medium was mixed with it. It has been identified analytically both in the palm-leaf as well as paper manuscripts.

2. *Red lead—vernacular name, sindur*: Red lead gives a brilliant orange red colour. It was artificially prepared by roasting white lead until it was converted into the red colour. It has also been identified both in palm-leaf and paper manuscripts.

3. *Vermilion or cinnabar—vernacular name, saingur, singraf, hingul*: Vermilion is a mineral pigment obtained from cinnabar, which is a sulphide of mercury. Muni Shri Punyavijayji describes the following method for its preparation.[33] The mineral cinnabar is broken into small pieces in a mortar after adding to it a little sugar-solution or lime-juice. Pure cinnabar settles to the bottom and the water becomes yellow and is rejected. This process is repeated several times and thus the purest quality of cinnabar is obtained. This is again pounded while mixed with sugar-solution or lime-juice and a little of appropriate gum. These things are thoroughly mixed and then later on formed into cakes.

In the *Asrarul Khat*,[34] a Persian treatise of the seventeenth century, rock-salt solution is recommended to be mixed with *singraf* for purification. The pure material settles to the bottom, the material which floats is rejected. Gum arabic is used as a binder.

XII. Guru Nanak Dev (1469-1529) with Bala and Mardana by Alam Chand artist, nineteenth century Punjab. Courtesy Dr C.S. Chan, London (UK).





←XI. Guru NanakDev (1469-1529) addressing a conference of saints, sufis and scholars in Baghdad during his sojourn in the Middle East, from Janam Sakhi by artist Chibbar, size 2″×3″, seventeenth century Punjab. Courtesy Dr C.S. Chan, London (UK).

XIII. Guru Gobind Singh with saints, nineteenth century Punjab. Courtesy Dr C.S. Chan, London (UK).
↓

4. *Realgar or red arsenic—vernacular name, mansila*: Realgar is sulphide of arsenic giving a brilliant red. In brilliancy, it equals orpiment, which is also a sulphide of arsenic.

5. *Lac dye—vernacular names, laksharash, alakta, alata*: The red dye obtained from crude lac gives a deep, transparent red, bordering on violet. The crude lac gives two distinct products, a dye and resin. Lac is the product of an insect, *tachardia lacca*. The lac insect lives on a large number of widely different plants. The crude material collected from the plants is boiled in water to which a little soda has been added. The dye part of the raw lac dissolved in the water and, after concentration, is used as red dye. Use of lac-dye is recommended in almost all the Sanskrit treatises on paintings.

6. *Safflower—vernacular name, kusum. Natural order: Carthamus Tinctorius*: The flowers of the tree are collected and dried. They contain a yellow dye, which is soluble in water, and a red dye. To obtain red dye, flowers are placed in baskets and slightly acidulated water poured over them. The yellow dye is washed out. The remaining substance, when extracted with alkaline water, produces an excellent red colour which is carthamin. The dye was known to textile dyers.

7. *Rosi—other vernacular name, kamela (growing on the tree Mallotus phillippinesis)*: The dye is formed from the red glands found on the surface of fruit. It is collected in the form of powder. The ripe fruits are placed in a cloth and pounded until the powder is removed, which is then separated from the fruits. It gives a brilliant orange red colour.[35]

Yellow

1. *Yellow ochre—vernacular name, ramraj*: Yellow ochre has been one of the most popular yellow pigments of India. It is obtainable in several shades. It is mentioned in almost all the ancient text-books on paintings. In painted manuscripts it has been used extensively.

2. *Orpiment—vernacular name, harital*: *Harital* gives a shining yellow. It is mentioned in *Vishnudharmottara Purana* and other treatises on paintings and has been used both on palm-leaf and paper. It is a sulphide of arsenic and is found in the mineral state. The mineral is thoroughly powdered and cleared. The cleared powder is mixed with a solution of gum and pounded well.

3. *Peori—other vernacular name, gaugoli, Indian yellow*: This brilliant yellow was obtained from the urine of cow fed for about a week on mango leaves only. The urine was boiled and water allowed to evaporate. The substance left behind was collected and used as yellow pigment. At present the preparation of *peori* is banned by law because it made the cow ill.

4. *Turmeric—vernacular name, haldi, root of the plant curcumalonga*: Turmeric has been known to Indians since early times. It is used as a condiment to prepare curries and has found use as a dye. There are two varieties—soft and hard. The harder variety gives a deeper colour.

5. *Saffron—vernacular name, kesar*: Saffron solution gives a deep yellow colour. It had been used to write on birch-dark and is still used for this purpose on special occasions.

6. *Multani matti—Fuller's earth*: This is a pale yellow mud known as the Multani *matti*. Sometimes this has been used for a pale colour.

Blue

1. *Ultramarine—vernacular name, lajward*: Ultramarine extracted from iron lapis lazuli was known since a very early time in India. It often found mention in the Sanskrit texts on paintings. It has been extensively used on paper manuscripts, especially of the Mughal period. *Asrarul Khat*[36] (the secrets of calligraphy) describes two types of ultramarine, natural and artificial.

2. *Indigo—vernacular name, neel*: Indigo has been mentioned as the chief blue pigment in the Sanskrit texts. It is obtained from a plant known as indigoferae. There are several varieties of indigoferae, all yielding indigo. Its main use was for dyeing textiles but it has also been used in painting on paper.

3. *Azurite*: Azurite is not mentioned in any of the Sanskrit texts on painting. It has been detected

in many wall paintings, and as such its not being mentioned in the painting texts is rather curious. It has been detected in several paper manuscripts of medieval period.

Green

The Sanskrit texts advise obtaining the green colour by mixing blue and yellow, which were recognised as primary colours, while green was considered a mixture. However, pigments producing green colour without mixing also occur in paintings.

1. *Malachite—vernacular names, haradhaba, harabhata, sang-i-sabz*: Malachite or *haradhaba* (green stone) as it is known in India, is found in several forms. It gives a bright green. In paper manuscripts it has found extensive use.

2. *Terra verta—green earth—vernacular name, harabatha*: This has been used as a green pigment since the earliest times. It has been detected at Ajanta. It has also been used in paper manuscripts.

3. *Verdigris—vernacular name, zangal*: *Zangal* is definitely a Persian innovation since it is not mentioned before the fifteenth century. It is very charming and warm colour. It was very popular with Indian painters on paper. It has, however, one great defect; wherever it has been used, it has charred the paper and the colour itself has darkened.

Its method of preparation has been described in *Asrarul Khat*[37] as follows:

> Take one rate of *naushadar* (sal ammoniac) and half a rate of copper scraps, put them in a pot and pour grape vinegar drop by drop into the vessel and with the help of a stick, whose top should be flat, grind the mixture in the pot till it becomes *zangal* (verdigris).

White

1. *Burnt conch shell—vernacular name, sankh, calcium carbonate*: Conch shells were burnt in India to produce white lime. Some qualities of shells gave very fine and smooth powder. It has been recommended by ancient Sanskrit treatises on painting for use as a white pigment. Conch shells give white of a very high percentage of calcium carbonate.

2. *Chalk—vernacular name, kharia, calcium carbonate*: *Kharia* available in India is of two qualities—soft variety and hard variety. The soft variety is known as *phul-khari*, and the hard *kath-khari*, i.e., hard chalk. The former is preferred for painting purposes. It is thoroughly levigated on a smooth stone slab with water for preparing the paint.

3. *Gypsum*: Gypsum is also sometimes called *kharia-mitti* which means chalk-earth.

Gypsum has also been used as a white pigment for paintings in manuscripts. Its use has been especially noticed in Central Asian wall painting.[38]

4. *Talc—vernacular name, silkhari, soap stone*: Talc is white pigment, known as *silkhari*. A very pure white variety was used to impart shine to the surface of paintings. It has been used especially in Rajasthan. This white does not adhere well to the surface.

5. *Kaolin—vernacular name, Chini mitti*: Kaolin ranging in shade from pure white to pale colour has been used in manuscript paintings. Kaolin is found widely distributed in nature.

6. *White lead—vernacular name, safeda, carbonate of lead*: White lead has also been used as a pigment for painting purposes.

7. *Zinc white—vernacular name, safeda*: *Saféda* or zinc white was very popular with Mughal painters and is still liked by the traditional painters of that school. The use of the same term *safeda* for lead white and zinc white pigments has given rise to much confusion. In this connection, it will be worthwhile to quote Dr Moti Chandra,[39] a noted art historian of India. He writes:

> The use of zinc white by the modern Mughal painters raises an important question whether it was the name zinc-white or white lead which was used in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as zinc-

white was invented only in eighteenth century. It is well known fact that white lead was extensively used in Medieval Euorpean paintings though it has two drawbacks: first it is poisonous, and therefore of potential danger to the workmen, and secondly as a water-colour pigment it may be blackened by sulphur gases in the air. It is remarkable, however, as noticed by Prof D.V. Thompson (*The Materials of the Medieval Painting*, London, 1936, p. 94) that this darkening of colour is quite uncommon in medieval manuscripts and in medieval panel paintings, the phenomena are quite unknown. From the medieval painters' point of view it was a furtner fault of white lead that it was incompatible with verdigris and orpiment in mixtures. We do not know from what time white lead came to be used in Indian painting. The tradition, however, among Mughal painters is very strong that Kashgar *safeda* used by their ancestors was zinc-white.

Black

1. *Carbon black—vernacular name, kajal*: Lamp black has been used as a black pigment since very early times. It is mentioned in some of medieval treatises on paintings. The *Silparatna* describes the method for making lamp black.[40] The *Abhilashitarth Cintamani* also mentions lamp black for use as black pigment.[41]

2. *Antimony sulphide—vernacular name, surma*: It has a grey colour and has been used as a pigment. Galena, a cheap substitute for antimony, often sells as *surma* and has been used to impart a grey colour. The mineral was well powdered in pestle and purified with lemon juice. It was used with animal glue.

3. *Black inks*: There were different methods in use for preparing black inks. The methods differed according to the material on which the ink was proposed to be used. In *Jaina Chitra Kalpadruma* various recipes for preparing inks to be used on paper and palm-leaf are mentioned.[42] A typical recipe for paper is as follows:

> Take best lac resin, boil it in water, add a little borax and *lodh* bark.[43] Boil the mixture till watel remains one-fourth of the original old *kajal* and allow to dry. When necessary, add water and use as ink. This is permanent.

Gold

In India it has very often been used as a pigment to paint and sometimes to write also. It is very difficult to say when gold was first used for this purpose in India. Gold as a pigment has not been used at Ajanta[44] and Ellora. Indian treatises on paintings like *Vishnudharmottara Purana*[45] refer to use of gold as pigment. The *Silparatna*[46] and the *Abhilashitarth Cintamani*[47] give detailed instructions for the preparation of gold pigment. Actual specimens where gold ink has been used are available only towards the end of the palm-leaf period. An illustrated Jain palm-leaf manuscript of *Kalpasutra*, in which gold has been used is mentioned in the collection of the Seth Anandji Mangaljini Pedhina Gyana Bhandar at Idar. This is one of the earliest of such manuscripts; the manuscript is said to be of the end of the fourteenth century.

In the National Museum collection there is an illustrated paper manuscript, *Kalpasutra*, dated A.D. 1439. The text is written in gold on crimson ground and divided into fields of writing by floral vertical borders and the miniatures. The paintings have been done on a red ground.

Tin—vernacular name, ranga: Tin powder was used to give silver-like effect. Silver was rarely used because after some time it tarnished and became black. To prepare tin for painting, its foils are pounded well with animal glue and water. Resultant mixture is dried in cakes and used whenever needed.

Mica—vernacular name, abrak: Mica powder was also used for painting. *Tragacanth* was used as the binding medium for mica powder.

Binding Media

According to ancient treatises on paintings the binding medium for colours was of animal and vegetable origin, *vajralepa* and *niryaskalka* respectively.[48]

Animal glue: *Vajralepa* means a very hard paste. The formula was as follows: Buffalo skin has to be boiled in water, until it becomes like soft butter. The water then has to be evaporated, and sticks have to be made of paste and dried in sunshine. The hard plaster is called *vajralepa*. It is then boiled in a mud vessel with water, it will make any colour fast with which it is mixed.[49] The same process is mentioned in *Brihata-Samhita, Abhilashitarth Cintamani, Silparatna* etc. The *Abhilashitarth Cintamani* also mentions "that heated fluid is liquid with any colour, it must be mixed in such proportion as not to spoil the colours".[50]

Gums: Sivaramamurti refers to the use of the word *niryaskalka* in ancient literature. *Niryaskalka* means exudation from a tree and obviously refers to the use of various gums.

In the *Vishnudharmottara Purana* the juice of *sindura* (Grislar Tomentsa) plant is said to be desirable to be used as a binding medium for all pigments.[51]

Gum of *neem* tree (*media azadirachta*) is recommended by the *Silparatna* for making the ground of burnt conch shell and tempering *kajal* (lamp black) add realgar. The *Silparatna* considers it good for all colours.[52] The *neem* (Margosa) is a large tree found in almost all parts of India. A bright amber coloured exudation comes out of the bark which is collected in small tears or fragments and used as gum.

Gum arabic was another popular binding medium used in medieval India. It, however, finds no mention in any of the Sanskrit treatises on painting. Probably its use became popular through contact with Persia. Muni Shri Punyavijayji mentions its use for mixing lamp-black.[53] In Mughal times also it was in use. It was also used in calico printing. Even now it is used as an ingredient with lime for white-wash and for wall-paintings.

Indian gum arabic is the exudation of the tree *Acaciu Arabica* (*babul*). It is very widely distributed small tree in India. It does not require a very moist climate and hence is found mostly in the central part of the country. Gum is given out by the tree generally in the dry season. It occurs in the form of broken tears stuck together. Colour is light straw to red or sometimes light brown. Gum collected during the rainy season is not of a good quality, being in adhesion.

The *dhaura gum* (gum of the tree *Anogeiss Latifolia*) binding medium is mentioned by Muni Shri Punyavijayji.[54] It was used for binding zinc-white and *peori*. Dhaura gum is used in calico printing. The tree is a large deciduous variety found from the sub-Himalaya ranges to central and southern India. The gum is light straw coloured. Another variety of gum is light brown.

Katira (Indian Tragacanth) (tree species: *Astragalus Heratensis*) has been used to fix mica powder and other metallic powders. This is a Persian shrub. The gum exudes from fissures in the bark. When soaked in water, it swells and becomes gelatinous.

Seeds of the tree *Tamarindus Indica* are also used to produce a gum. Tamarind is a large ever-green tree, found almost everywhere in India. To prepare the gum, seeds are boiled in water and outer skin is peeled off. The white inner part is pounded in water and boiled again. The liquid is strained through a cloth and used as binding medium for paints.

There existed a pattern of *ustad-shagird* while making pictures independently and cooperatively. Entire working of artists rested upon this pattern. The senior artist gave the basic idea or the basic sketch of the whole composition, second one completes the sketch and a third one starts colouring. A fourth one finishes the colour work. Then the *ustad* approves the picture and gives green signal for applying gold and conch etc. Burnishing agate was used in some cases. Gold was always applied to prominent figures to distinguish them from the rest of the *dramatis personae* of the pictures as was the case in royal portraits and pictures of Radha-Krishna, Ram-Sita and other religious personages. Conch was used at the completion of the picture to burnish it in order to give lustre to the colours and pigments, and make the picture durable.

Similar prescriptions have been furnished by Jagdish Mittal of Hyderabad (A.P.) relating to use of paper, colours, *vasli*, burnishing and retouching by Pahari painters.[55]

Colours they used have been discussed earlier. They used it while working on the sketches. Sometimes a master sketch was prepared which was copied several times by the artist by the time it became worthless for further tracing. The drawing of subject matter was then perforated by the needle, lamp black powder, duly cleaned in a fine muslin cloth, is dusted on the drawing. A clear outline of subject matter emerges. At this stage colouring is started. Colours were prepared in small clay-bowls according to the requirement of the artists. Brushes and *qalams* used by the artists were made by themselves of the hair of camels or squirrel and peacock feathers. Different brushes were used for different types of work. The artist worked on these paintings—whether on individual pictures or in illustrations of the manuscripts for months together. Whether their patron was a maharaja or some feudal lord or any high official, the artist very rarely inscribed his identity on the pictures. It may be ascribed to the spirit of selfless service among the Asian artists. It is again because of this anonymity of Indian artists that we seldom find any names on any piece of Indian art. We come to know about the authorship of the paintings only on the basis of stylistic affiliation and sometimes on the ground of the technique. Under such circumstances there is every possibility of losing the factual information in favour of conjectures. But present-day scientific advancement in our art historical research techniques determine the age of the art objects on the basis of radio X-ray, carbon-14-dating formula, and chemical and physical analysis by the conservation laboratories which bring out fool-proof result of mixture of material used in painting of the past.[56] Thus we are left in no doubt about the ingredients and constituents of materials used by the artists, and we are saved from the clutches of forgers and fakers in the art market. Masterpieces of these artists are rarely found in Indian collections, they have made their way to museums in London, Berlin, New York, Boston, Philadelphia, etc. Only fakes are visible here to befool Indian art lovers.

We should not forget that what was best in technique and style of paintings of Punjab was executed at Lahore, Amritsar, Patiala and Kapurthala. At Lahore Muhammad Bakhsh "Suhaf" maintained a workshop employing writers, scribes, artists and book-binders who were jointly producing hand-written books of quality for the intelligentsia. Before that books were imported from Bombay, Delhi and Lucknow. But due to keen interest of Muhammad Bakhsh "Suhaf" standard and illustrated books were prepared at Lahore. Then they were exported to Iran and Khurasan. Rai Bahadur Kanahiya Lal has mentioned artists and scribes of excellent style and technique who executed a large number of illustrated manuscripts showing unique genre of painting and style which are marvellously preserved even to this day.[57] Famous stylists were Mian Pir Bakhsh Koftgar whom the Maharaja himself wanted to employ in the royal service which he refused.[58] His disciple Maulvi Fazl-ud-din continued in his footsteps. Khalifa Baganam, Maulvi Ghulam Yasin, Mirza Iman Deri Kabli were gifted calligraphists of the day. Maulvi Fakir Mohammad, Ghulam Mohammad Pir Bakhsh, Pandit Daya Ram, and Kazi Shams-ud-din along with Chirag Ali were equally matchless artists-cum-calligraphists of the nineteenth century.[59] Alas, with the downfall of the Sikh empire and the annexation of Punjab by the British in 1848 these artists and masters of style and technique sought their alternative source of livelihood in newly started Directorate of Information and Publicity. This department introduced printing press, litho press and photo-offset printing which altogether replaced the indigenous way of painting and artistic calligraphic writing by type printing and other scientific and mechanical devices.[60] Whatsoever was left was killed by the introduction of photography which arrived in India as early as 1860.[61]

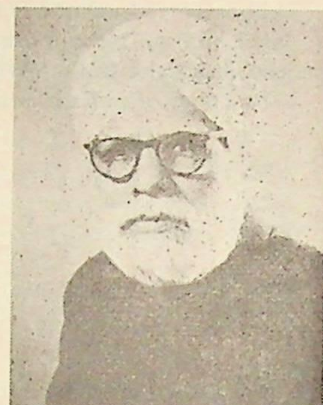
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41. A.K. Coomaraswamy, "The Technique and Theory of Indian Painting", *Technical Studies in the Field of the Fine Arts* III (1934), pp. 59-89.
42. Nawab Sarabhai, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 119.
43. The bark and leaves of the lodh tree are used for preparation of various medicines and as a mordant with some dyes, e.g., with the yellow dye of ak (Morinda tinctoria), the red dye of bakam (Caesalpima sappan) etc. Its other vernacular names are *khoidai*, *ludduge*, *bhomreti*.
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56. Such laboratories are at (1) Oxford University, Oxford (U.K.), (2) Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, (3) Conservation Laboratory at National Museum, New Delhi, and National Conservation Laboratory, Lucknow. Other conservation centres are at London, New York, Brussels, Rome, Dresden etc.; see also Usha Rai's "Who Cares About Antiques" in *The Times of India Annual*, 1972, p. 76.
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CHAPTER VI



PLACE OF THE PAINTING IN PUNJAB IN THE FIELD OF INDIAN PAINTING

IN the last five chapters an attempt was made to discover a school of painting which developed in the Punjab plains in the nineteenth century. The burning question of patronage has also been dealt with. The position of artist in the society as it existed then has also been touched upon to some extent. Whether it was totally indigenous or it was a result of migrant style has also been discussed to show that it was exclusively a Punjab painting style, despite its borrowings from external influences. No art can claim to be purely original without external give and take. But, despite its eclectic[1] style which assimilated Rajasthani, Pahari and Mughal styles of painting, it remained a Punjab painting style[2] which formed a characteristic school or movement in its own right in both regions of Punjab, viz, Trans- as well as Cis-Sutlej areas.[3] Trans-Sutlej region was governed by Ranjit Singh and his successors and Cis-Sutlej region was ruled by the princes of Phul dynasty known as Phulkian chiefs.

Most of the earlier writers on the Punjab paintings have written several volumes on the work done in the Lahore Durbar, but rarely has anyone cared to focus his attention on the development of painting in Cis-Sutlej states in the nineteenth century. An attempt is made here to fill this gap with relevant information and records regarding the patronage of artists, artists' work and their contribution to the cultural development of the region which was a source of artistic activities.

Patiala under Narender Singh was the cradle of civilisation in the whole of Malwa region and it set the pattern of painting, architecture, music, education, sartorial fashion.[4]

It has been an earnest endeavour to establish, as far as possible, that there developed an independent school of painting comprising of three or four major centres of Punjab, namely: Lahore, Amritsar, Patiala, and Kapurthala, on the basis of available evidences, visual or documentary. Sometimes the assistance of oral tradition was also considered authentic and necessary within the purview and framework of this work. Most important of all was the subject matter of the painting done in nineteenth-century Punjab. Being a land of Guru Nanak Dev and other nine Gurus, the artists and patrons alike were enthusiastic to get the life stories of these painted since all the ten Gurus had preached the sermons of equality of human beings, abolition of superstitions, removal of idol worship etc. These ideals had deep impression on the masses, this obviously was the moving force behind painting such themes either on the walls or on paper.[5] Extant wall paintings throughout the towns and villages of Punjab speak volumes of it, *Janam Sakhis* of Guru Nanak Dev were illustrated in Lahore, Amritsar, Patiala.[6] Along with these, themes from Hindu mythology like *Bhagwat Puran*, *Shiva Puran*, *Ramayan*, *Mahabharat*, *Bihari Sat Sai* were illustrated in large number.[7]

Also we have the portraits of Ranjit Singh and his successors (Plates 50, 54, 61, 88, 89, 90, 93) and of his ministers; Fateh Singh Ahluwalia of Kapurthala (Plates 79, 80, 81); then, royal portraits of



91. Raja Hira Singh of Jammu clan in conversation with Pandit Jhalla his adviser, Punjab Government Archives, Patiala.



92. Raja Gulab Singh in conversation with Sardar Jawahar Singh, Punjab Government Archives, Patiala.



93. Maharaja Dalip Singh with Sardars Ajit Singh and Lehna Sandhanwalian, Punjab Government Archives, Patiala.





94. Cobbler, resident of Katra Ramgarhiya, ↑
Amritsar, Samvat 1920 (A.D. 1863),
Government Museum, Chandigarh.

95. Ruldu Khoji, Dharmo Maisurewalia,
Gavernment Museum, Chandigarh.

96. Peshawari and Peshawana,
Government Museum, Chandigarh. →







99. Nihang Singh and Nihang Singhani, ↑
Government Museum, Chandigarh.



97. Nanak Potter, Government Museum, Chandigarh.

← 98. Dhuni Nath Jogi (Snake Charmer), Gorakh Tila, Samvat 1920 (A.D. 1863), Government Museum, Chandigarh.



← 100. Muslim Fakir and a devotee,
Government Museum, Chandigarh.



104. Weaver and Bhago weaveress, 19th century,
Government Museum, Chandigarh.

101. Karimsa Banwa Teek Chishtian Sabrian,
Government Museum, Chandigarh. ↓





102. Hawk by Kapur Singh, 19th. century, Government Museum, Chandigarh.



103. Duck by Kapur Singh, 19th century, Government Museum, Chandigarh.

105. A Pandit by Kapur Singh, 19th century, Government Museum, Chandigarh.

106. A Juggler with two bears by Artist Kehar Singh, 19th century, Government Museum, Chandigarh.

107. Women baking at Tandoor by Artist Kehar Singh, 19th century, Government Museum, Chandigarh.

108. Nath Jogi (Snake charmer), Government Museum, Chandigarh.











109. Guru Gobind Singh, Punjab Government Archives, Patiala.



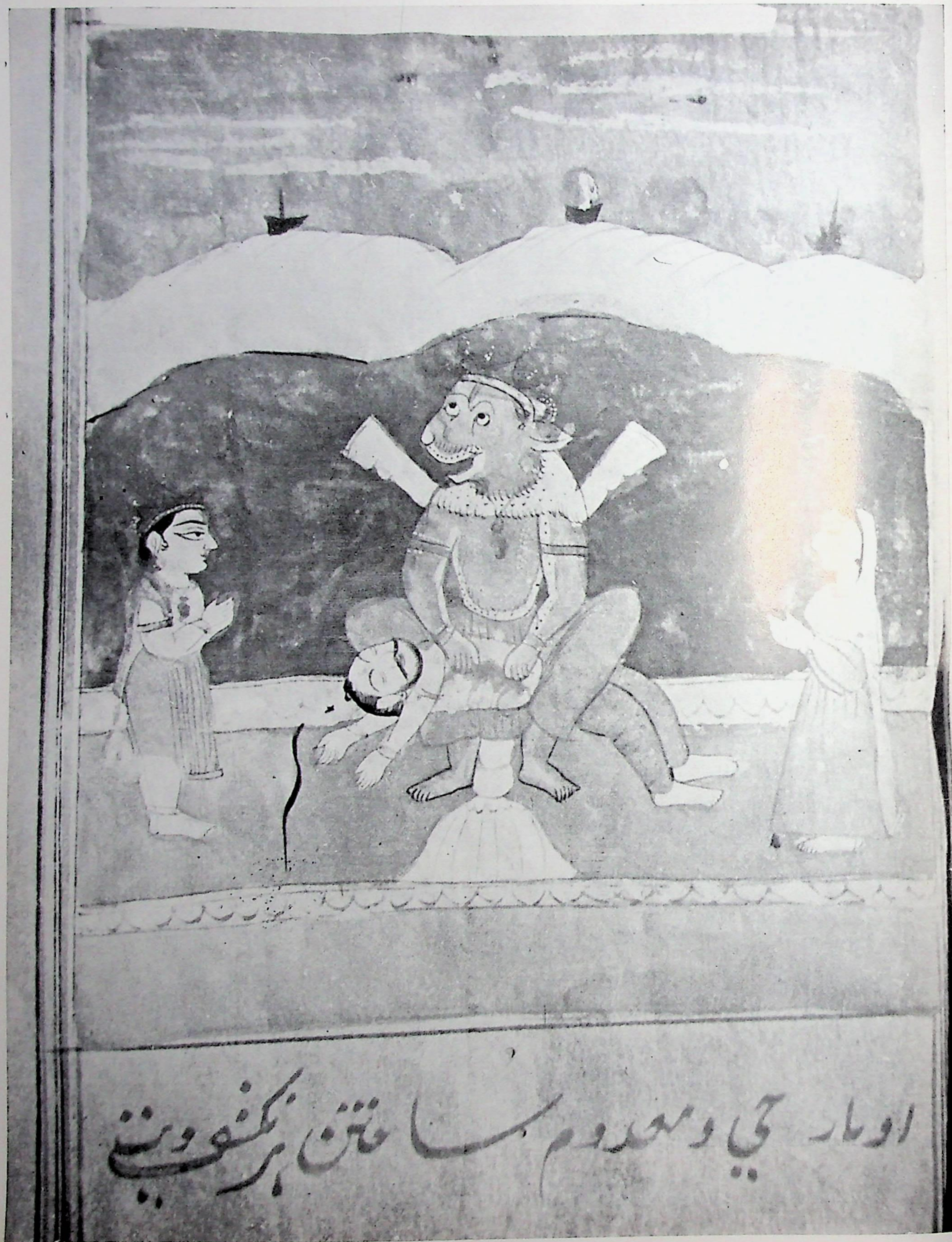
110. Guru Nanak with Bala and Mardana, 19th century, Punjab Government Archives, Patiala.



111. Portraits of (left to right), Maharaja Naunihal Singh, Raja Suchet Singh, Maharaja Dalip Singh, 19th century, Lahore, Punjab Government Archives, Patiala.



112. Portraits of (left to right), Raja Rattan Chand, Sardar Lehna Singh, Sardar Phula Singh, 19th century, Lahore, Punjab Government Archives, Patiala.



113. Killing of Hiranaykashyapu, 19th century, Central Public Library, Patiala.



114. Brahma on Hansavahan with two devotees in attendance, 19th century, Central Public Library, Patiala.



115. Killing of Kovalya elephant of Kans by Crishna in the form of Vishnu, 19th century, Central Public Library, Patiala.

Patiala State—Karm Singh (Plate 44), his son Narendra Singh (Plate 47), his successor Mahendra Singh.

Thus we are in a position to conclude that the art of painting which took its birth in Punjab was no less in quality or style and characteristics to any other school or style of nineteenth-century India after the collapse of Mughal empire in 1857 provided our appraisal of this school is scientific, objective and non-partisan. Provincial schools which developed after the sack of Delhi were Lucknow, Lahore, Murshidabad, Patna, Banaras, Hyderabad etc.[8] But with the rapid advancement of British administration throughout India this indigenous style of Indian painting was wiped out. British authorities opened schools of art at Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and Lahore in order to meet the requirement of artisans for English officers who were working in different departments of the government.[9] British and other Europen artists who were touring the various parts of India, were painting portraits and landscapes for the princes.[10] Naturally, Indian artists also took up the western technique and style in preference to their own. Thus, Indian painting died its natural death.

As stated earlier, painting in Punjab occupied a special status as it vied in a large measure with the national level attainments of Rajasthani and Mughal painting. A critical analysis will lead us to think, on the basis of output, quality and style, that this school stands out as the best among the provincial centres of Indian painting. But the irony of the situation has been the attitude of the art historians, who, either due to ignorance or due to bias, did not write anything about it.

In the present study, an attempt has been made to locate who was the particular artist who worked at a particular place. Artists' families have been identified who worked at the major centres of work, namely, Lahore,[11] Amritsar and Patiala. Contemporary chroniclers like Sohan Lal Suri,[12] Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh Yakdil,[13] Nur Ahmad Chishti,[14] and Rai Bahadur Kanahiya Lal,[15] Mufti Ghulam Sarwar Qureshi Lahori,[16] Sayyad Mohammad Latif,[17] Imam-ud-din Riazi,[18] Ali Akbar Sirazi,[19] Dr Mohd Abdullah Chughtai,[20] Mohammad Abdur Rehman Chughtai[21] have shed a flood-light on the artists of Punjab, specially of Lahore. One most significant documentary evidence in the form of official *Jama-Kharch* (official receipts and expenditures) of the court of Lahore kingdom, showing the responsibilities of several ministers/officials in respect of construction work, beautification works, *dharmarth* work etc., of the government has also come to light.[22] This record has also established the fact that the restoration and renovation of Golden Temple (destroyed several times by Ahmad Shah Abdali) was entrusted to one Rahim Bakhsh of Lahore. This Rahim Bakhsh and Mohd Hayat belonged to the Chughtai family (see family genealogy in Chapter IV) of Lahore. Soon after taking over Lahore Ranjit Singh first gave this task to Mohammad Salah Mimar, father of Rahim Bakhsh. Then it was carried on by Rahim Bakhsh and Mohd Hayat in collaboration with their two brothers, Yar Mohammad and Mohammad Yar.[23] Moreover, relations of these artists were also found working in Poonch and Jammu states of the Western Himalayas.

Art historians have not done justice to the contribution of Muslim artists in the field of painting. The fact of the matter has been that the major achievement was from the side of Muslim artists, but somehow or the other their role has been glossed over. Art history of Punjab can be gleaned from the Persian and Urdu sources of the history of this region. As for example, twenty volumes of *Bayaz* (Diaries) of Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh Yakdil, *Masir-ul Umra*, *Tarikh-e-Lahore*, *Tarikh-e-Zaka-Ullah*, *Amal-e-Salah* alias *Shah Jahan Namah* by Mohd Salah Kamoh, *Tarikh-e-Nadrani* alias *Tarikh-e-Mohammad Shahi* by Munshi Khushal Chand Sami, *Khulqsat-ut-Tawarikh* by Munshi Sujan Rai Bataalwi (Munshi Sujan Rai was historian in the reign of Alamgir Aurangzeb), *Sakin-a-e-Aulia* by Prince Dara Shikoh, *Shah Jehan-nama* by Abdul Hamid Lahori; *Tarikh-e-Hind* by Maulvi Zakaullah, etc., are full of references relating to art and cultural activities right from the Mughal period up to the reign of Ranjit Singh. Since our principal source of information continues to be English, which gives us only casual references, we lack complete and authentic information so far as the reliable picture of the state of development of fine arts in the nineteenth century is concerned.

Punjab has been pioneer in the cultural values from the very dawn of our civilisation, i e., Indus Valley civilisation, hence, if it gives birth to new style in painting it should not surprise anyone. As is evident enough from the preceding chapters, painting and painters flourished and blossomed here to the

full in the past. Today a new generation is coming up to carry the heritage forward. Prominent among them are Miran Bakhsh, Amrita Shergill, S.G. Thakur Singh (Plate 127), P.N. Mago, Hari Singh, Kanwal Krishna, Allah Bux, Mohd Bakhsh, Ishwar Chitrakar, Abdur Rehman Chughtai (died 1975) (Plate 126), Damyanti Chawla, Parkash Narula etc.

Hence, we close this study on the optimistic note of P.B. Shelley, English poet of Romantic Movement, who remarked in the last couplet of his famous poem, "Ode to the West Wind":

If winter comes,
Can spring be far behind.

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4. R.P. Srivastava, "Manuscripts as a Source of Cultural History of India", accepted for publication by *The Journal of Oriental Research*, Tirupati (A.P.). It discusses in greater detail the art treasures of Patiala.
5. Dr Mulk Raj Anand, "Specimens of Paintings under the Sikhs", in *Marg*, Vol. X, No. 2, March 1957, pp. 37-44.
6. Such *Janam Sakhis* are in (1) National Museum, New Delhi, (2) Punjabi University Library, Patiala, (3) Personal collection of Bhai Ke Bagarian, near Malerkotla, (4) Personal collection of Maharaja of Patiala. Prof Pritam Singh of Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, also possesses one.
7. Such manuscripts were prepared and illustrated in Patiala Durbar during the reign of Narender Singh and Mahender Singh and are in the collection of Punjab Language Department, Patiala, as also in the personal collection of Capt. Amrinder Singh of Patiala (Appendix D).
8. Dr Herman Goetz, *The Crisis of Indian Civilization in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Century* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1938), pp. 14-15.
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11. M. Abdur Rehman Chughtai, *Lahore Ka Dabistan-e-Muswari* (Urdu) (Lahore, 1979), pp. 33, 38.
12. Lala Sohan Lal Suri, "*Umdatul Twarikh*, 1886, Lahore, Daftar IV, Part II, p. 5. See also his Daftar IV, Part III, p. 5.
13. *Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh Yakdil's Bayaz* (Anthologies) (Urdu), No. 14, 1845, p. 28; No. 9, 1845, p. 28; No. 13, 1847-48, p. 18; No. 12, 1847, p. 169; No. 15, 1848, p. 15; No. 3, 1848, p. 45 respectively. Maulvi Ahmad Bakhsh Yakdil was contemporary of Ranjit Singh and he had written 20 volumes of diaries known as "Bayaz" which are in the collection of his descendants in Lahore.
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21. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-38.
22. Khalsa Durbar Records Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14, 19, 22, 32, 33, 35, 36, Punjab Government Archives, Patiala (Appendix E).
23. Mohammad Abdur Rehman Chughtai, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.

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———: The Illustrations of Dastan-i-Amir Hamzah, Lahore, 1971.
———: Bihzad, the Great Artist of East, Lahore, 1972.
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———: Lahore-ka-Dabistan-i-Mussavari (Urdu), Lahore, 1979.
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APPENDIX A

District-wise Inventory of Nineteenth Century Murals of Punjab Plains

Sl.	*Name and description of the monument place*	*District*	*Style or school affiliation*	*Whether religious or secular*	*Particular sect/faith/ pantheon depicted*	*Any other detail/ reference*
1.	Sheesh Mahal in Ranjit Singh's Palace, Lahore	Lahore (Pak)	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite	
2.	Tomb of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Lahore	Lahore (Pak)	Sikh	Religious	Nanak Shahi	
3.	Dharamsala Bhai Wasti Ram, Lahore	Lahore (Pak)	Sikh	Religious	Nanak Shahi	
4.	Residence of Allard and Ventura, Anarkali, Lahore	Lahore (Pak)	Pahari	Religious	Sikh themes	
5.	Garden House of Allard, Lahore	Lahore (Pak)	Popular	Secular	Dragons, soldiers, lancers, foot soldiers	
6.	Haveli Maharaja Nau Nihal Singh, Lahore	Lahore (Pak)	Sikh	Religious	Sikh themes	
7.	Lahore Fort, Wall Paintings, Lahore	Lahore (Pak)	Sikh	Religious	Sikh themes	
8.	Royal Palace, Lahore	Lahore (Pak)	Pahari Sikh	Religious	Vaishnavite History of Krishna as narrated in *Prem Sagar*. Krishna with milk maid, in other room Krishna teasing gopis, while bathing and taking up their clothes. Fakirs are also shown.	
9.	Mir's Harem in Hyderabad Fort	Hyderabad (Sind) (Pak)	Mughal type	Secular	Secular themes	
10.	Fort of General Hari Singh Nalwa	Gujranwala (Pak)	Sikh	Secular	Battle of Namrood	
11.	Country House of Ranjit Singh of Wazirabad	Wazirabad (Pak)	Sikh	Religious	Sikh Gurus	
12.	Main shrine in the temple walls painted in Pindori Dham, 8 miles from Gurdaspur	Gurdaspur	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite	
13.	Gurudwara, Dhianpur	Gurdaspur	Pahari	Religious	Nanak Shahi	
14.	Gurudwara Sri Hargobindpur	Gurdaspur	Pahari	Religious	Nanak Shahi	
15.	Dhamtal Temple, Dhamtal	Gurdaspur	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite	
16.	Baring Union Christian College Bldg., Batala (formerly palace of Maharaja Sher Singh)	Gurdaspur	Sikh	Religious	Nanak Shahi	
17.	Walls of Gurudwara at Naurangabad	Amritsar	Sikh	Religious	Nanak Shahi	
18.	Walls of Gurudwara Mattewal	Amritsar	Sikh	Religious	Nanak Shahi	
19.	Golden Temple, Amritsar (walls and ceiling)	Amritsar		Natural	Flora and fauna	

20. Walls of Brahmbuta Akhara near Golden Temple (now repaired and white-washed)	Amritsar	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite
21. Walls and ceilings of Chitta Akhara (Bazar Mai Sewa)	Amritsar	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite
22. Wall of Haveli Mangal Singh, Chowk Prag Dass	Amritsar	Pahari and Sikh mixed	Religious	Nanak Shahi
23. Haveli of Jamadar Khushal Singh	Amritsar	Sikh Pahari mixed	Religious	Nanak Shahi
24. Walls and ceilings of Temple near Jallianwala Bagh	Amritsar	Sikh	Religious	Vaishnavite
25. Haveli Giani Harinder Singh Roop, Main Gate (Bazar Mai Sewa)	Amritsar	Sikh plus popular	Religious	Popular Sikh
26. Gurudwara near Sultanwind Gate	Amritsar	Pahari	Religious	Sikh themes
27. Temples and Samadhas of Maharaj Chand near Ghee Mandi, Amritsar	Amritsar	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite
28. Upper storey room in Akhara Bala Nand, Guru Ram Dass Sarai Road	Amritsar	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite
29. Walls of Temple Katra Ahluwalia, Amritsar	Amritsar	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite
30. Gurudwara Baba Attal Sahib (Upper storeys) near Golden Temple	Amritsar	Sikh	Religious	Nanak Shahi
31. Deorhi leading to Attal Sahib, near Golden Temple	Amritsar	Sikh	Religious	Nanak Shahi
32. Gurudwara Khadoor Sahib, Amritsar	Amritsar	Sikh	Religious	Nanak Shahi
33. Gurudwara Goindual	Amritsar	Sikh	Religious	Nanak Shahi
34. Gurudwara Thatha Khara, near Tarn Taran	Amritsar	Sikh	Religious	Nanak Shahi
35. Summer Palace of Ranjit Singh, Ram Bagh	Amritsar	Sikh	Religious	Sikh themes
36. Gurudwara Baba Deep Singh, Amritsar	Amritsar	Sikh	Religious	Sikh themes
37. Haveli of Phaga Sant Ram (Upper storey), Mahsuliwala Darwaza, Jandiala Guru Ka	Amritsar	Pahari	Religious	Hindu popular themes
38. Gurudwara Baba Bakala, Baba Bakala	Amritsar	Sikh	Religious	Nanak Shahi
39. Baba Hundal ka Gurudwara, Jandiala Guru ka (Amritsar)	Amritsar	Sikh	Religious	Sikh themes
40. Vir-Bhan da Shivala, Ghee Mandi, Amritsar	Amritsar	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite
41. Gurudwara and House of Sodhi family, Kartarpur	Jullundur	Pahari	Religious	Sikh religious themes
42. Bara Mandi Frescos, Nurmahal, Jullundur	Jullundur	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite
43. Gurudwara Ram Tatwali	Hoshiarpur	Sikh	Religious	Sikh themes
44. Gurudwara Bhunga	Hoshiarpur	Sikh	Religious	Sikh themes
45. Gurudwara Ferozepur	Ferozepur	Sikh	Religious	Sikh themes
46. Jain Temple between Zira-Ferozepur	Ferozepur	Jain	Religious	Jain Tirthankaras
47. Gurudwara Bargari, Faridkot	Faridkot	Sikh	Religious	Sikh themes
48. Gurudwara at Muktsar	Faridkot	Sikh	Religious	Sikh themes
49. Gurudwara Jandiali	Sangrur	Sikh	Religious	Sikh themes
50. Havelis of big businessmen in Handayaya	Sangrur	Hindu	Religious	Vaishnavite
51. Temple at Barnala, Barnala	Sangrur	Hindu	Religious	Vaishnavite

52. Gurudwara at Kangra Dina	Sangrur	Sikh	Religious	Nanak Shahi
53. Temple at Doraha-Ludhiana-Chandigarh Road	Ludhiana	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite
54. Gurudwara Lopon	Ludhiana	Pahari	Religious	Sikh themes
55. Temple at Village Mannupur, Via Khanna	Ludhiana	Pahari folk mixed	Religious	Vaishnavite
56. Sheesh Mahal, frescos, Old Moti Bagh Palace, Patiala	Patiala	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite
57. Qila Mubarak, Interior Palace, frescos, Patiala	Patiala	Pahari Rajpur	Religious	Vaishnavite
58. Office, Punjab Chief Chemical Examiner, Qila Mubarak, Patiala	Patiala	Pahari Rajasthani	Religious	Vaishnavite
59. Temple of Tung Nath, Rajpura Road, Patiala	Patiala	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite
60. Temple of Kedar Nath, frescos, Rajpura Road, Patiala	Patiala	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite
61. Temple of Badri Nath, frescos, Rajpura Road, Patiala	Patiala	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite
62. Temple of Raj Rajeshwari frescos at the back of Kali Devi Temple, The Mall Road, Patiala	Patiala	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite
63. Gurudwara Tegh Bahadur, frescos, near Bahadurgarh Fort, Patiala	Patiala	Pahari	Religious	Sikh as well as Vaishnavite themes
64. Gurudwara at the back of Moti Bagh Palace, Patiala	Patiala	Pahari	Religious	Sikh themes
65. Rani Mahal, Nabha (Patiala)	Patiala	Pahari Rajasthani mixed	Religious	Popular religious
66. Mansa Devi Temple at Mani Majra near Chandigarh	Chandigarh	Pahari	Religious	Cult of Devi
67. Mani Majra Palace (now deserted)	Chandigarh	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite
68. Shrine of Bhikam Shah of Ghuram near Patiala	Patiala	—	—	Flora and fauna
69. Am Khas Bagh, Sirhind (Patiala)	Patiala	Mughal	Secular	Secular popular
70. Roza Sharif Sirhind near Fatehgarh Sahib	Patiala	Mughal Rajasthani mixed	Religious	Flowers and foliage
71. Gurudwara Chachroli, frescos, near Ambala	Ambala	Pahari	Religious	Sikh themes
72. Gen. Avitalile's residence, Peshawar Governor of the Province at that time	Peshawar (Pak)	Pahari	Erotic	Dancing girls, nudes depicting the tales of Gen. Avitalile
73. Walls of house of Shri Kundan Lal, Dasuya	Hoshiarpur	Pahari	Secular	Poets, mystics
74. Gurudwara, Achal Sahib Village	Batala Gurdaspur	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite
75. Achaleshwar Maha Dev Temple, Achal Sahib, Batala	Batala Gurdaspur	Pahari	Religious	Vaishnavite

APPENDIX C

Inventory of Manuscript Sources in India

C.M. Cloth manuscripts
P.M. Paper manuscripts
P.L.M. Palm leaf manuscripts

S. No.	*Name and address of library/ Bhandar/ Pothikhana*	*Total No. of Mss in various languages in the collection*	*Total No. of illustrated Mss in the collection*	*Oldest illustrated Mss in the collection*	*No. of Silpa-Sastras, Vantu-Sastras in the collection*	*Whether catalogue of the Mss is available from the Library/ Bhandar/ Pothikhana*	*Whether the research scholars are allowed to study this material*	*Whether the Mss have been published either in book form or facsimile etc.*	*Subject(s) dealt with by the Mss*
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1.	Shastra Bhandar, Naya Mandir, Dharampura, Delhi	1995	One	*Adipurana* by Puspa Ahut Kavi	Nil	Nil	Yes	Nil	Hindi, Apabhramsa
2.	Moti Katra Jain Temple, Agra	1500	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Yes	Nil	-do-
3.	Sastra Bhandar of Sonepat (Haryana)	750	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Yes	Nil	Purans (Sanskrit, Prakrit, Hindi)
4.	Sastra Bhandar Karanja (Gujarat)	2000	No	Nil	Nil	Nil	Yes	Nil	No
5.	Sanghni Collection Patan (Gujarat)	413	No	Nil	Nil	Oriental Institute Baroda's catalogue	Yes	Nil	No
6.	Sangha Vaktakaji Fofalia Vada, Pa'an	2686 PM 137 PLM	No	No	No	Dr Peterson's Report and Oriental Instt. Baroda's catalogue	Yes	No	Jyotish, *Brahmanas*
7.	Granth Bhandar of Vandhi Paraswnath Temple, Patan (Gujarat)		No	No	No	Dr Peterson's Report and Oriental Instt. Baroda's catalogue	Yes	No	
8.	Granth Bhandar, Aglaseri, Patan (Gujarat)	3035 PM 22 PLM	No	No.	No	-do-	Yes	No	Old Gujira Jain Rasas

APPENDIX B

Inventory of Collections of Nineteenth Century Miniature Painting of Punjab Plains

Archaeological Museum, Red Fort, Delhi.
Baroda Picture Gallery, Baroda (Gujarat).
Sri S S. Bharani, antique dealer, Bartanwala Bazar, Amritsar (Punjab).
Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi (U.P.).
Central Museum, Lahore (Pakistan).
Central Sikh Museum, Golden Temple, Amritsar.
Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (U.K.).
Chughtai Museum Trust, Lahore (Pakistan).
Dogra Art Gallery and Museum, Jammu (J&K).
Fakir Family, Fakir Khana, Bhati Gate, Lahore (Pakistan).
Government Museum and Art Gallery, Chandigarh (Union Territory).
India Office Library and Records, Black Friar Road, London (U.K.).
National Gallery of Modern Art, New Delhi.
National Museum, New Delhi.
Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (Maharashtra).
Punjab Government Historical Museum, Department of Archives, Baradari Garden, Patiala (Punjab).
Punjab Government Museum and Art Gallery, Sheesh Mahal, Patiala (Punjab).
Hakim Gurcharan Singh, Guru Ram Dass Sarai Road, Amritsar (Punjab).
Personal Collection of S. Manohar Singh (proprietor of Marco's), New Rajendra Nagar, R-Block, Near Nehru Park, New Delhi.
Personal Collection of late Sant Parkash Singh, Retd. I.G. Police, V.&P.O. Allowal, Jullundur-Hoshiarpur Line (Punjab).
Rao Uttam Singh, antique dealer, Krishna Basti, Sangrur (Punjab).
Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh).
Sir Partap Singh Museum, Srinagar (Jammu and Kashmir).
Sri K.L. Vaid, Headmaster, Chamba (Himachal Pradesh).
Victoria and Albert Museum, London (U.K.).
Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta (West Bengal).

9.	Bhandar of Bhabha Padda, Patan (Gujarat)	528+1824	No	No	No	-do-	Yes	No	
10.	Sagar Upsarya Collection, Patan (Gujarat)	1309	No	No	No	-do-	Yes	No	
11.	Khartarwasi Bhandar, Patan (Gujarat)		No	No	No	-do-	Yes	No	
12.	Jain Sidhant Bhaman, Arrah (Bihar)		No	No	No	-do-	Yes	No	Grammar, Sikh religion
13.	Jain Gyan Bhandar, Limbidi (Gujarat)	3507	Two	(1) *Jambu Dwipa Pragyapti* (2) *Kalpsutra*	No	Oriental Instt. Baroda's catalogue	Yes	No	Religion, Language
14.	Jain Anand Pustakalya, Gopipura, Surat (Saurastra)	3100	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Sanskrit, Gujarati, Prakrit and Marathi
15.	Jindatta Suri Gyan Bhandar, Gopipura Surat (Saurastra)	1029	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
16.	Mohan Lal's Gyan Bhandar, Gopipura Surat (Saurastra)	2704	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
17.	Sri Hukam Munis Gyan Bhandar, Gopipura, Surat (Saurastra)	711	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
18.	Seth Nemi Chand Milap Chand Upsurya, Gopipura Surat (Saurastra)	891	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
19.	Sri Dewa Chand Lal Chand Library, Gopipura, Surat (Saurastra)	386	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
20.	Sri Devasara Gacha Sangrah, Gopipura, Surat (Saurastra)	1047	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
21.	Sri Ansar Gacha Sangrah, Gopipura, Surat (Saurastra)	1612	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
22.	Sri Cintamani Gyan Bhandar, Gopipura, Surat (Saurastra)	170	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
23.	Sri Simandhar Swamino Bhandar, Gopipura, Surat (Saurastra)	780	Nil	Nil	Nil	Oriental Instt. Baroda's catalogue	Yes	Yes	Sanskrit, Gujarati, Prakrit and Marathi
24.	Sri Baura Cantta Gyan Bhandar, Gopipura, Surat (Saurastra)	338	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
25.	Sri Vidya Sala, Gopipura, Surat (Saurastra)	825	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
26.	Panna Lal Saraswati Bhawan, Bombay	960	Nil	Nil	Nil	Publishers yearly report	Yes	Yes	-do-
27.	Santinath Sastra Bhandar, Khambat	—	Nil	Mss from 12th to 16th century A.D.	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
28.	Sastra Bhandar Jain Math, Mudbidri (Karnataka)	2555	Nil	—	Nil	Bhartiya Gyan Pith, Khashi Mudbidri	Yes	Yes	-do-
29.	Vira Bani Vilas Jain Sidhanta Bhawan, Mudbidri (Karnataka)	958 PLM	Nil	Palm PLM	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
30.	Jain Math Karikal (Karnataka)	295	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Yes	—	Jain religion
31.	Adinath Granth Bhandar, Alyoor (Karnataka)	125 PLM	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Yes	—	-do-
32.	Sidhant Basti Bhandar, Mudbidri (Karnataka)	124 PLM	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Yes	—	-do-
33.	Amar Sastra Bhandar, Jaipur	2650+150 (Gutkas)	Two	(1) *Uttar Purana* by Mahakavi Puspadanta (2) *Adi Puran* copied in 1464 A.D.	Nil	Digambar Jain Kestra Cat.	Yes	Digambar Jain descriptive cat.	Ayurved, Jyotisa, Vyakaran, Mantra Sastra
34.	Sastra Bhandar of Bada Mandir, Jaipur (Gheewalon ka Rasta)	2630+324 (Gutkas)	One	*Adipuran* by Puspadanta copied in 1540 A.D. in Delhi	Nil	-do-	Yes	-do-	-do-
35.	Gorath Bhandar of Bandya Lunkaran, Jaipur	807+225	One	*Yasodhara Carita* in 1731 A.D.	Nil	-do-	Yes	-do-	-do-

36. Sastra Bhandar of Baba Duli Chand, Jaipur	850	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	-do-	Puran, Katha and Carita etc. Literature Hindi Apsara
37. Sastra Bhandar of Jain Temple, Badri Chand, Gheewalon ka Rasta, Jaipur	1278+162 (Gutkas)		*Vadhman Kanya* by Jaya Mitra Halla in 1424 A.D.	Nil	-do-	Yes	-do-	Literature Hindi, Apsara
38. Granth Bhandar of Tholiya Jain Temple, Gheewalon ka Rasta, Jaipur	658+125 (Gutkas)	One	*Puja Sangrah*	Nil	-do-	Yes	-do-	-do-
39. Granth Bhandar of Jain Temple Patodi, Caukari Modi Khana, Jaipur	2257+308 (Gutkas)			Nil	-do-	Yes	-do-	Puran, Grita Kavy, Grammar
40. Sri Chandra Prabha Saraswati Bhandar, Caukari Modi Khana, Jaipur	830	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Digambar Jain descriptive cat.	Literature Hindi, Apsara, Puran, Grita Kavy, Grammar
41. Sastra Bhandar of Jobner Phejaran ka Rasta, Chandpole Bazar, Jaipur	340	*Sangrahi Sutra*, 18th cent. A.D.	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	-do-	Etiquettes of royal courts, *Baghwan Satsai* etc.
42. Paraswnath Digambara Jain Saraswati Bhawan Paraswnath Jain Temple, Jaipur	558	One	*Yasodhara Carita* copied in 18th cent. by Pandit Todar Mal	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Puran, Rath religion topics
43. Sastra Bhandar of Fodha Temple, Jaipur	616+102	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
44. Sastra Bhandar of Jain Temple Sanghiji, Modi Khana, Jaipur	979	One	*Maha Matti Katha* by Catin Bhuj	As in Col. 4	-do-	Yes	Yes	Puran, Kath Kosa, etc.
45. Sastra Bhandar of Digambar Jain Temple, Laskar, Jaipur	828	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Religious and secular
46. Granth Bhandar of Naya Mandir, Moti Singh Bhoomiya ka Rasta, Jaipur	150	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Stotra, Puja, Carita

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
47.	Granth Bhandar of Codharyan ka Mandir, Modi Khana, Jaipur	108	Nil	Nil	Nil	Digambar Jain Kestra Cat.	Yes	Yes	—
48.	Sastra Bhandar of Kala Chabra Jain Temple, Jaipur	3410+106 (Gutkas)	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
49.	Sastra Bhandar of Maghrajaj Temple, Jaipur	249	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
50.	Saraswati Bhawan of Yasodanandan Jain Temple, Jaipur	353+459 (Gutkas)	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
51.	Sastra Bhandar, Sikar	532	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
52.	Temple of Chajuramji, Alwar	60	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
53.	Jain Temple of Sahji Sahib, Alwar	40	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
54.	Bartalla Jain Temple, Alwar	41	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Ayurved, Amritsagar
55.	Jain Temple Nasiaji, Alwar	42	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Religious and secular
56.	Naya Bazar Jain Temple, Alwar	39	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
57.	Khandbral Jain Pancayiti Mandir, Alwar	211	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	
58.	Agarwal Panchayati Mandir, Dhran	186	Nil	Nil	Nil	Digambar Jain Akasya Kestra Cat.	Yes	Yes	
59.	Sastra Bhandar Duni, Alwar	143	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	
60.	Sastra Bhandar of Todar Singh, Alwar	6	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	
61.	Granth Bhandar of Adinath, Ajmer	246	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	
62.	Granth Bhandar of Parswnath, Ajmer	105	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	
63.	Sastra Bhandar of Fatehpur (Shekhwat) Distt. Sikar (Raj.)	400	One	*Namokara Mahatamya Katha* by Hira Lal Sohan Lal in 1922 A.D.	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	

64. Sastra Bhandar of Bispanthi Mandir	177	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	
65. Sastra Bhandar of Trapanthi Mandir, Dausa (Ajmer)	150	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	
66. Sastra Bhandar of Baswa (Ajmer)	5	One	(a) *Kalpa Sutra* copied in 1479 A.D. with 39 illustrations (b) Kalpa Sutra copied in 147 A.D. with 42 illustrations	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	
67. Sastra Bhandar of Mozamabad (Ajmer)	368	One	*Jasahara Carita* of Puspadanta copied in 16th cent.	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	
68. Jaina Gyan Bhandar Jhunjhunu (Ajmer)	310	Nil	Nil	Nil	Digambar Jain Ati. M.B. Cat.	Yes	Yes	Hindi
69. Jain Sastra Bhandar Rajmahal (Tonk)	255	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Hindi, Sanskrit
70. Jain Granth Bhandar Chaudhrian Temple, Malpura	50	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Religious Jainism
71. Sastra Bhandar of Tirapanthi Temple, Malpura	74	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
72. Jain Sastra Bhandar, Bhadwar	130+20 (Gutkas)	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Religious
73. Sastra Bhandar of Panchayati Mandir, Bharatpur (Raj.)	801	One	*Bhaktmara Stotra* by Manting Acarya with 51 illustrations copied in 1769 A.D.	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
74. Granth Bhandar of Jain Temple, Phozurama, Bharatpur	65	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
75. Sastra Bhandar of Badi Panchayati Deeg, Bharatpur	56	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
76. Sastra Bhandar of Jain Mandir, Old Deeg, Bharatpur	101	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
77.	Sastra Bhandar of Khandelwal Jain Mandir, Kama (Bharatpur)	578+331 (Gutkas)	Nil	Nil	Nil	Digambar Jain Ati. M.B. Cat.	Yes	Yes	Religious
78.	Sastra Bhandar of Agarwal Panchayati Mandir, Kama	105	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
79.	Granth Bhandar of Sri Mahavirji, Kama	515	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
80.	Sastra Bhandar of Panchayati Mandir, Bayana	150	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
81.	Sastra Bhandar of Tirapanthi Mandir, Bayana	153	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
82.	Sastra Bhandar of Jain Temple Vaira near Bayana	120	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
83.	Granth Bhandar Panchayati and Sogani Jain Mandir, Karaul	227+4487 (Gutkas)	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
84.	Grantha Bhandar of Hindain	426	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
85.	Grantha Bhandar of Jain Temple Bada Dhada (Ajmer)	2015	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
86.	Vrihat Gyan Bhandar Bikaner i.e. Dana Sagar Bhandar	2792 in 74 bundles	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Sastra, Swetambar Jain Sadhu's list
87.	Mahima Bhakti Bhandar, Bikaner	3000 in 89 bundles	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	(Natak) Drama Skt.
88.	Vardhaman Bhandar, Bikaner		One	*Sangrah in Tabba Tibba* (Commentary) by Sri Chand Suri in Prakrit	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Battle history, stories
89.	Abhaya Singh Bhandar, Bikaner	427 in 23 bundles	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	*Dhola Mani story*

90.	Jina Harsa Suri Bhandar. Bikaner	476 in bundles	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	(a) Commentary on *Kumar Sambhav* of Kalidas (b) *Story of King Bhoja*
91.	Ram Chandra Bhandar, Bikaner	300 in 9 bundles	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
92.	Mahara Chandra Bhandar, Bikaner	295 in 8 bundles		Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
93.	Bhandar of Sri Puyaji, Bikaner	3115 in 99 bundles + 100 Gutkas	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
94.	Jaina Laxmi Mohan Sala Gyana Bhandar, Bikaner	2527 in 121 bundles + 200 Gutkas	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
95.	Gyan Bhandar of Kserma Kalyanji, Bikaner	715	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Prakrit and Sanskrit Lit.
96.	Boharoumi ki Seri ka Upsaria ka Bhandar, Bikaner	805	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
97.	Chatti Bai ka Upsaria ka Bhandar, Bikaner	300	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
98.	Punni Bai ka Upsaria ka Bhandar, Bikaner	297	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
99.	Collection of Mahopadhya Ramlal, Bikaner	507	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
100.	Granth Bhandar of Kharataracayaya Branch, Bikaner	1895	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	*Sidhant Puran, Carita*
101.	Hira Chander Library Bikare, Bikaner	1177	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Agam, Sidhant Rath Lit. Purana
102.	Abhaya Jain Granthalya, Bikaner	15188	Illustrated letters on cloth Mss written in gold and silver. Illustrated horoscope. One letter is 72 ft long, another invitation letter to Jaina Saubhagh Suri 97 ft long	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Skt. Apardma Prakrit

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
103.	Sethiya Library, Bikaner	1212	Nil	Nil	Nil	Digambar Jain Ati. M.B. Cat.	—	—	Agam Lit.
104.	Govind Pustakalya, Bikaner	1113	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	—	—	
105.	Collection of Moti Ram Khazanch, Bikaner	5000							
106.	Kushal Chand Jain Pustakalya, Bikaner								
107.	Collection of Yati Mohan Lal, Bikaner								
108.	Collection of Sri Lachiram, Bikaner								
109.	Sastra Bhandar in Upsarya of Kochar, Bikaner								
110.	Collection of Manmal Kothari, Bikaner	40000	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Agam Lit.*
111.	Collection of Yati Jayakarja, Bikaner								
112.	Collection of Mangal Chand Maluka, Bikaner								
113.	Collection of Sri Bhanwarlal Rampuria, Bikaner								
114.	Collection of Sri Mangal Chand Jhalok, Bikaner								
115.	Collection of Sri Rao Gopal Singh Vaid, Bikaner								
116.	Granth Bhandar of Yati Ridhivarji, Guru (Bikaner)	3785							Religious secular, jyotis, Kavya

*The information from S.No. 106-115 is collective.

117.	Granth Bhandar of Jaina Swetambar Trapanthi Sabha Sardar Sahar	1471	One	*Kalpsutra* written in 1477 A.D.	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	*Life of Maharaja Kumar Pala* of Gujarat, Commentary on Kavya *Kumara Sambhava*
118.	Bhattar Kiya Granth Bhandar, Nagpur (Jodhpur)	12000+	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Dharmopdesa, Agam, Sidhant, Ayurved, Drama, Katha, Stotra, Puja, Mathematics, Sangeets, Rasa, Alankar, Canda etc.
119.	Brihad Gyan Bhandar, Jaisalmer	1804 PLM 1704 PM	One	*Ogha Niryukti Vratti* by Dronacarya in 1060 A.D. and was copied by Pahila	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Carita, Purana, Drama
120.	Pacano Bhandar, Jaisalmer	42 PLM	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
121.	Bada Upasarya Jain Gyan Bhandar, Jaisalmer	1019 PM	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
122.	Tapa Gachia Gyan Bhandar, Jaisalmer	8 PLM	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
123.	Loka Gachia Gyan Bhandar, Jaisalmer	11 PLM	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
124.	Thaharu Saha Gyan Bhandar, Jaisalmer	4 PLM	One	*Kalp Sutra* copied by Vacakera in 1462 A.D.	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
125.	Har Sagar Gyan Bhandar, Jaisalmer	2110 PM	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
126.	Sri Maharni Gyan Bhandar, Phalodi, Jaisalmer	146 PM	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
127.	Punya Sri Gyan Bhandar, Phalodi, Jaisalmer	365 PM	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
128.	Rajendra Suri Sastra Bhandar, Ahore (Jaisalmer)	252 bundles	One	*Jambu Dwip Pragnapti* in Prakrit	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
129.	Sastra Bhandar of Sambharnath Temple, Udaipur	517	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Poetry (metres), Puran, Philosophy, Rasa, Katha
130.	Granth Bhandar of Agarwal Jain Temple, Udaipur	388	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Jain, Sidhant, Puran, Rasa

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
131.	Granth Bhandar of Khandelwal Jain Temple, Udaipur	185	Nil	Nil	Nil	Dig. Jain. Ati. M.B. Cat.	Yes	Yes	-do-
132.	Gandhiji ka Upsarya, Udaipur	625	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
133.	Granth Bhandar, Durgapur (Udaipur)	553	2+3 *Raga* and *Ragini* pictures	*Candana Malayajiri* by Bhadrsen copied in 1733 A.D. with 25 ills *Aditya Vara Katha* by Ganga Das composed in S 1615 (1758 A.D.) with 5 pictures 30 pictures of *Ragas* and *Raginis*	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do- Puja, poetry, Hindi Lit. Skt. lit.
134.	Bhattarak Yashkirti Jain Saraswati Bhawan Risabhadena, Udaipur	1070	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Histories, Rajasthani lit.
135.	Collection of Yati Balachandra Vaidya, Chittor, Udaipur	1000	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Jain, Sidhant, Puran, Rasa
136.	Khatara Gachiya Sastra Bhandar, Kota	1177	One	*Kalpasutra*, written in 1473 A.D.	Nli	-do-	Yes	Yes	Agam, Sidhant, Puran, Rasa
137.	Vira Putra Anand Sagar Gyan Bhandar, Kota	415	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
138.	Granth Bhandar of Jain Temple, Borsali, Kota	735	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Palya, Varat, marriages, Katha
139.	Granth Bhandar of Parswnath Temple, Bundi (Raj.)	334	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Bhakmara Stotra

140. Granth Bhandar of Jain Temple, Adinath, Bundi	168	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
141. Granth Bhandar of Jain Temple, Abhinandan Swamy, Bundi	368	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Apabhramsa poetry, Sidhant, Puran, Puja, Stotra
142. Grantha Bhandar of Mahavir Temple, Bundi	172	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
143. Granth Bhandar of Jain Temple, Neminath, Bundi	223	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
144. Jain Saraswati Bhawan, Jhalara Patan, Bundi	1436	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	—
145. Granth Bhandar of Bhagherwala Jain Temple, Nainav, Bundi	104							
146. Granth Bhandar of Tirapanthi Jain Temple, Nainav, Bundi	80							
147. Granth Bhandar of Agarwal Jain Temple, Nainav, Bundi	37							
148. Granth Bhandar Daklana (Bundi)	423	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Poetry, Carita, Katha, Rasa, Grammar, Ayurveda, Jyotisa, Stotra
149. Granth Bhandar of Jain Temple, Parswancha, Indergarh (Kota)	289	Nil	Nil	Nil	-do-	Yes	Yes	Acar Sastra, Stotra, Sidhanta
150. Rajasthan Prachi Vidya Priothan, Rajendra Marg, Jodhpur (Rajasthan) Sub-offices at Alwar, Jaipur, Tonk, Chittorgarh, Udaipur, Bikaner, Kota	Above 40000	400	(1) *Dhuvanga Lok lochan* v.s. 1204 (2) *Kalpsutra* v.s 1485	Nil	—	—	—	—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
151.	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona (Maharashtra)	Nearly 111000	7-8	*Bhagwat Puran* 1647 A.D.	8 Mss	Yes	Yes	Yes	Skt., Religion, Silp Sastra
152.	L.D. Institute of Indology, near Gujarat University, Ahmedabad	50000	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
153.	B.J. Institute of Learning and Research, R.C. Road, Ahmedabad	9000	12	*Vishnu Puran Sankata* dated V.S. 1435	—	Dig. Jain Ati. M.B. Cat.	Yes	Yes	Skt., Religion, *Silp Sastra*
154.	The Adyar Library and Research Centre, Madras	20000	10	Stotra work in Sardara Singh, 500 years old	—	-do-	Yes	Yes	-do-
155.	The Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Bombay	2068							
156.	University Library, University of Bombay, Bombay-32	8649							
157.	Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, Allahabad	8512							
158.	Tanjore Maharaja Serfoje's Saraswati Mahal Library, Thanjavur (Tanjore)	24432	—	—	57	Yes	Yes	Yes	Vedas, Kalpa Sraataprayag, Kavya, Drama, Kosa Chauras, Grammar, philosophy, Mahabharat, Gita, Puranas, Music, Jyotish, Vartaas, Mantra
159.	Shri Netnagar Shodh Samsthan, Sitaman	1000+100 Mss in Micro film							
160.	Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad (A.P.)	8250	200	(1) *Khamsa-e-Nizamti* made in late 15th century A.D. in Shirag					

			(2) *Roudat-ul-Mahibbin* 1537 A.D. in Bukhara					
161. Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna (Bihar)	9253	—	—	—	Yes	Yes	Yes	History, Religion, Sufism
162. National Library, Calcutta	3643	—	—	—	Yes	Yes	Yes	—
163. Arya Basha Library, Nagari Pracharani Sabha, Varanasi	16586	—	—	—	—	—	—	Hindi, Sanskrit
164. Oriental Institute. Lokmanya Tilak Road, Opp. Sayaji Guy Tower, Baroda	25851	100	*Bhagwat Purana* 1598 A.D.	9	Yes	Yes	Yes	Religion, Scenes, Silpa, Sangita, etc.
165. Raza Library, Rampur (U.P.)	15000	50	(a) Seventh century *Quran Majid* (b) *Quran Majid* by Ibn-e-Muqboth in 939 A.D.	—	Yes	Yes	Yes	History, religion, poetry, etc.
166. Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur	10000							
167. Ganga Nath Jhankendri Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Allahabad	11956	2	*Samveda Samhita* V.S. 1583 A.D. 1526	*Vastu Sastra* by Visva Karma dated Saka 1759	Yes	Yes	Yes	Religious, Veda, Samhita
168. The Asiatic Society, Park Street, Calcutta	40000	30	(1) *Astasarika prajnaparamita* (2) *Pacuaraksa* (3) *Aparimitayur-nama Mahayansutra*	20	Yes	Yes	Yes	Religion, *Silpa Sastra*, Language, Culture, history etc.
169. Orissa State Museum Bhubaneswar (Orissa)	80000 (Oriya, Bengali, Hindi, Sanskrit)	80	*Amarustak* 16th-17th century A.D.	36	Yes	Yes	Yes	Religion, Silpa Sastra, Language, Culture, history etc.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
170.	Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, Dharamsala (Kangra) (Himachal Pradesh)	23700							Sutras, Tantras, Astrology, medicine, historiography
171.	Govt. Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras-5 (T.N.)	47366	4	A manuscript about 250 years old	105	Yes	Yes	Yes	—
172.	Punjab University Library, Chandigarh	1438	13	*Diwan-e-Saib* written by Muhammad Murad in 1097 A.H.	Nil	Yes	Yes	Yes	—
173.	Andhra State Archives, Tarnaka (Hyderabad)	650	8	*Kitab-Tarjuma Musalik-o-Mamalik* in Persian Moh. Bin Ali Hussan in 741 A.H.	Nil	No	Yes	No	—
174.	Sri Venkateswara Univ. Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati (A.P.)	14371	1 (*Asvasastra*)	*Ramayan Vanbas* in Tamil about 300 years old	17	Yes	Yes	Yes	Kavya, Vedanta, Religion

APPENDIX D

Table Showing Manuscript Sources of Art and Cultural History of Punjab Including Phulkian States

S. No.	Name of the manuscript	Name of the author	Name of the scribe	Period	Place	Translator	No. of illustration	Present location with Acc No.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	*Vishnu Puran*	Not known	Kahn Singh	Chet 4 Sudi v.s. 1901	Patiala	Ganga Ram	Nil	No. 31, Moti Bagh, Patiala
2.	*Bhagwat Puran*	Rishi Vyas	Kishan Singh Banuri Fateh Singh Basant Singh	v.s. 1920	Patiala	Jaimal Singh	Nil	No. 547, Central Public Library, Patiala
3.	*Bhagwat Maha Puran*	Rishi Vyas	Kahan Singh Roparia Fateh Singh Ghumar Mansa Ram Brahman	Magh Badi 14 v.s. 1924	Patiala (Dhak Bazar)	Jaimal Singh	Nil	No. 4, Moti Bagh, Patiala
4.	*Devi Bhagwat* Part I and II	Not known	—	v.s. 1901	Patiala	Chandra Shekhar	Nil	No. X, Moti Bagh, Patiala
5.	*Pothi Sai Chitra Gupta* (Persian)	Not known	Har Sukh Rai	Uncertain	Bareilly	—	Nil	No. 296, Moti Bagh, Patiala
6.	*Sudha Sidhu Ramayan*	Vir Singh 'Bal'	Bhai Bela	v.s. 1909	Patiala	—	Nil	No. 18, Moti Bagh, Patiala
7.	*Ram Chandra Chandrika Tika*	Kesho Das	Sahib Singh Rajput	v.s. 1894	Kapurthala	Harnam Kavi	Nil	No. 1903, Central Public Library, Patiala
8.	*Sudama Charitra*	Kavi Nihal	Uncertain	Jeth Sudi 4 v.s. 1924	Patiala	—	13	No. 19, Moti Bagh, Patiala
9.	*Sudama Mangal*	Jati Ram	—	19th century	Patiala	—	—	No. 137, Moti Bagh, Patiala
10.	*Sur Sagar*	Surdas	Not known	16th century B.K.	—	Not known	24	No. 233, Moti Bagh, Patiala
11.	*Garbh Geeta*	Not known	Not known	Kartik Sudi 5 v.s. 1899	—	—	—	No. 500, Central Public Library, Patiala
12.	*Gauran Mangal Mukkwa 2 Vols.*	Kavi Nihal	Kishan Singh	Copied in B.K. 1925 Asadh Sudi 9	Patiala	—	106	No. 21-1, Moti Bagh, Patiala
13.	*Draupadi Charitra*	Ram Dass	—	Kartik Sudi 5 v.s. 1899	—	—	—	No. 500, Central Public Library, Patiala

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
14.	*Sri Brij Rai Kanwar Prem Adhik Chandam Khodsi*	Brindaban Dass	Saudaga Khatri	v.s. 1888	Kapurthala	—	—	No. 2569, Central Public Library, Patiala
15.	*Bhagwat Gita* (Bhashya)	Vyas Rishi	—	—	Patiala	—	—	No. 66, Moti Bagh, Patiala
16.	*Bhagwat* (Dasam Skand)	Vyas Rishi	—	—	—	Kavi Krishna Das	—	No. 10, Moti Bagh, Patiala
17.	*Bhagwat* (Dasam Skand)	Vyas Rishi	—	19th cent	Patiala	Kirat Singh	—	No. 74, Moti Bagh, Patiala
18.	*Rukmani Mangal*	Jati Dass	—	v.s. 1915	—	—	—	No. 510, Central Public Library, Patiala
19.	*Rukmani Mangal*	Kavi Niha	—	19th cent A.D. i.e. 1924 B.K.	Patiala	—	16	No. 38, Moti Bagh, Patiala
20.	*Mahabharat* with 12 Parbhas, viz., Adi Parbh, Sabha Parbh, Salya Parbh, Bhasya Saras Parbh, Surgarohan Parbh, Dron Parbh, Prasthan Parbh, Vairat Parbh, Asvamedh Parbh, Udam Parbh, and Bhisham Parbh	Ram Nath Amrit Rai Hans Ram Mangal Ditta Rai Uma Rai Kunwaresh Bassi Bhawani Dass Chand Krishan Lal	Vasu Dev	In 15 Sudi v.s. 1840 ,, 1753 ,, 1752 ,, 1753 ,, 1908 ,, 1909 ,, 1752 ,, 1681 ,, 1897	Patiala ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	—	—	No. 5, Moti Bagh, Patiala
	Istri Parbh	Devi Ditta Rai	—	Asadh Sudi 10, v.s. 1908	Patiala	—	—	,,

21. *Bhisham Parbh (Mahabharat)*	Vyas	Not known	Pos Badi v.s. 1919	Patiala	Basant Singh 'Rituraj'	—	No. 33, Moti Bagh, Patiala
22. *Vivek Bilas*	Chandra Shekhar	—	Asadh 15, Badi v.s. 1911	Patiala	—	—	No. X, Moti Bagh, Patiala
23. *Bani Bawa Ram Dass ji ki*	Bawa Ram Dass	Kishan Das Mahant	Kartik Badi 12, v.s. 1873	Patiala	—	—	No. 533, Central Public Library, Patiala
,,	,,	—	,,	Patiala	—	—	No. 22, Moti Bagh, Patiala
24. *Janam Sakhi Guru Nanak ji ki*	Bhai Paura Singh	Charpat	v.s. 1804	Patiala	—	—	No. X, Moti Bagh, Patiala
	Bhai Paura Singh	Mehtab Singh	v.s. 1819	Patiala	—	—	No. 229, Moti Bagh, Patiala
25. *Janam Sakhi Guru Nanak ji ki*	Bhai Paura Singh	Sawan Singh	v.s. 1895	Kasmpuri (Kashmir)	—	Two pages	No. 230, Moti Bagh, Patiala
26. *Mukkwar Dason Awtar*	Not known	Not known	v.s. 1900	—	—	10	No. 36, Moti Bagh, Patiala
27. *Katha Hakikat Rai*	Kavi Agra	Bhai Kishan Singh	v.s. 1943	—	—	63	No. 8, Moti Bagh, Patiala
28. *Mukkawa Karigaran wa Peshewaran* Part I	Kavi Dhan Raj	Bhai Kishan Singh Banuri	v.s. 1945	Patiala	—	121 along with pages of text	No. 32, Moti Bagh, Patiala
29. *Mukkawa Karigaran wa Peshewaran* Part II	,,	,,	,,	,,	—	113	No. 39, Moti Bagh, Patiala
30. *Sumat Prakash (i.e. Akbar Nama)*	Ravi Ram	Vasudeva	v.s. 1880	Patiala	—	—	No. 3, Moti Bagh, Patiala
31. *Katha Jagdev Pumar ki*	Basant Singh Rituraj	Kishan Singh and Nikka Singh	v.s. 1902	Patiala	—	127	No. 24, Moti Bagh, Patiala
32. *Kedar Panth Parkash*	Bawa Ram Dass	—	v.s. 1910	Patiala	—	—	No. 94, Moti Bagh, Patiala
33. *Adbhut Betal Pachisi Te Sunghasan Batisi*	Kavi Prahlad	—	Original in v.s. 1761 copied in v.s. 1918	Lahore	Pandit Raja Ram Kaul Tota	1	No. 43, Moti Bagh, Patiala
34. *Shirin Farhad*	Sant Ditta Ram alias Dit Singh	—	v.s. 1928 1871 A.D.	—	—	Several pictures	No. X, S.S. Ashok, Malerkotla (Pb.)
35. *Shuk Prakash*	Devi Ditta Rai Mohan	—	Original in v.s. 1911 copied in v.s. 1912	Patiala	—	—	No. 51, Moti Bagh, Patiala

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
36.	*Katha Nala Damyanti*	Basant Singh 'Rituraj'	Bishan Singh	v.s. 1906	Patiala	—	48	No. 62, Moti Bagh, Patiala
37.	*Katha Shri Bikramjit ki*	Jamiat Rai Sunami	—	v.s. 1837	—	—	200	No. 7, Moti Bagh, Patiala
38.	*Katha Raja Hari Chand ki*	Kavi Nihal	—	v.s. 1910	Patiala	—	45	No. 2, Moti Bagh, Patiala
39.	*Katha Raje Phul ki*	Kavi Nihal	—	v.s. 1910	Patiala	—	—	No. X, Moti Bagh, Patiala
40.	*Katha Raje Phul ki*	Kavi Nihal	—	v.s. 1910	Patiala	—	59	No. 3, Moti Bagh, Patiala
41.	*Kissa Sassi Pannu* (Persian)	Hashim	Kehar Singh Mussawar	22 Magh v.s. 1912	Kapurthala	—	—	No. 140, Languages Department, Patiala
42.	*Nrip Kanya ki Katha*	Kavi Nihal	Bhai Kishan Singh	v.s. 1924	Patiala	—	30	No. 22, Moti Bagh, Patiala
43.	*Bara Massa Uma Das ka*	Uma Dass	—	v.s. 1915	Patiala	—	12	No. 17, Moti Bagh, Patiala
44.	*Bara Massa Kesho Dass*	Kesho Dass	Kesri Ram alias Ram Pachanan	Circa v.s. 1800	—	—	12	No. 10, Moti Bagh, Patiala
45.	*Siharfi Gopi Chand*	Ganga Ram	—	19th Cent. A.D.	—	—	1	No. 181, Languages Department, Patiala
46.	*Bihari Satsai Satik*	Kavi Kishan Lal	—	18th Cent. v.s.	—	—	—	No. 128, Moti Bagh, Patiala
47.	*Ashta Naika*	—	—	—	—	—	8	No. 31, Moti Bagh, Patiala
48.	*Ashta Naika*	Kesho Dass	—	—	—	—	8	No. 35, Moti Bagh, Patiala
49.	*Shakuntla Natak*	Niwaz	—	—	—	—	70	No. 37, Moti Bagh, Patiala
50.	*Chanakaya Chandrika*	Visakh Datt	Bhai Ram Singh	v.s. 1904	Jind, Distt. Sangrur	—	—	No. 21, Central Public Library, Patiala
51.	*Vivek Bilas*	Chandra Shekhar Vajpai	—	—	—	—	—	No. 512, Central Public Library, Patiala
52.	*Phaltendu Shekhar* (Budh Parkash)	Ballu Mall	Kartar Singh	v.s. 1958	Patiala	—	Several pictures	No. X, Moti Bagh, Patiala
53.	*Phaltendu Shekhar*	Ballu Mall	—	v.s. 1945	—	—	Pictures of sun & moon given places	No. 2199, Central Public Library, Patiala
54.	*Ashav Prakarn Kala-Nidhi*	Fateh Singh Ahluwalia	—	19th Cent. v.s.	Kapurthala	—	53 of horses	No. 2480, Central Public Library, Patiala

55. *Sahskrit Salohtra ki Tika*	—	—	—	—	—	90	No. 131, Moti Bagh, Patiala
56. *Chard Darpan* (Pheel Naina)	Ram Singh Panjabi	—	v.s. 1901	Patiala	—	Several pictures of elephants	No. 238, Moti Bagh, Patiala
57. *Bhagwat* (Dasam Skand)	Vyas	—	Circa two century old	—	Krishan Dass	About a dozen pictures	No. 1461/2740 N.P.S. Banaras (U.P.)
58. *Bhagwat* (Dasam Skand)	Vyas	Tara Chand Ram	v.s. 1818	—	—	53	No. 13, Pro. P.S., Amritsar
59. *Bhagwat* (Dasam Skand)	Vyas	Bhupat	v.s. 1744	—	—	Kangra style pictures	No. 188, Moti Bagh, Patiala
60. *Nasket ki Katha (Garbh Geeta, Draupadi Charitra* etc.)	—	—	v.s. 1899	Patiala	—	Carrys pictures	No. 675, P.G.A., Patiala
61. *Ashvamedh Parbh*	Vyas	Tehkan	130 years old	—	—	,,	No. 377, P.G.A., Patiala
62. *Ram Charit Manas*	Tulsi Dass	Mansa Brahman Sukhowaga	v.s. 1860	—	—	,,	No. X, Moti Bagh, Patiala
63. *Janam Sakhi Guru Nanak ji ki*	Bhai Paura Singh	—	C. 18th Cent. v.s.	—	—	,,	No. 231, Moti Bagh, Patiala
64. *Janam Sakhi Guru Nanak Sahib*	Bhai Paura Singh	Sawan Singh	v.s. 1895	Kashmir	—	,,	No. 178, Moti Bagh, Patiala
65. *Janam Sakhi Guru Nanak Dev ji ki*	Bhai Paura Singh	Bawa Isra Singh	v.s. 1902	Phagwara Distt. Jullundur	—	66	No. 759, P.U., Chandigarh
66. *Janak Sakhi Guru Nanak ji ki*	Bhai Paira Mokha	—	C. 150 years old	—	—	19	No. 2512, C.S.M., Amritsar
67. *Prem Abodh*	Daswin Padshahi	—	C. 200 years old	—	—	26	No. 367, Languages Department, Patiala
68. *Hisab-i-Fauj-i-Ranjit Singh* (Military Acctts. of Ranjit Singh)	—	—	Early part of 19th Cent. A.D.	—	—	—	No. 622/872, Kh. B.L. Patna (Bihar)
69. *Shirin Farhad*	Kavi Hashim	Ram Singh's Tapi	v.s. 1906	Baoli Sahib, Lahore	—	6	No. 615, Punjab Government Arch., Patiala
70. *Krishan Sahitya Sindhu*	Sadhu Amrit Dass Udasi	Billoo Dass	v.s. 1890	Machhi Hatta, Lahore (Pak)	—	—	No. 117, Punjab University, Chandigarh
71. *Rasik Priya*	Kesho Dass	—	v.s. 1648	—	—	57	No. 63, Moti Bagh, Patiala
72. *Sumati Prakash (Akbar-Nama)*	—	—	v.s. 1880	Kapurthala (Punjab)	Kavi Ram	—	No. 2435, Central Public Library, Patiala

APPENDIX E

Table showing the Revenue Records (Jama-Kharch) of the Court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore throwing light on Art and Culture Activities in his Kingdom

S. No.	Bundle No. section, sub-section Nos.	Total folios: Total folios	Total folios: Relevant folios	Officer/Minister/Incharge of the works	Year of the works	Classification of Jama-Kharch (Budget head)	Main item No. of classified Jama-Kharch	On S.R. Kohli's catalogue of Khalsa Durbar Records, Vol. II, 1927, Lahore (Govt. Ptg. Punjab) p(s) noted below
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1.	No. B. 1 size script	2217 5″×7½″ Shakista	8	Diwan Bhawani Dass	V.S. 1868 1811 A.D.	Taujihat-o-Muqarrariat	(a) Akhrajat (4)	12, 17
2.	No. B. 2 size script	2519 5″×7½″ Shakista	11	Diwan Bhawani Dass	V.S. 1869 1812 A.D.	(i) (2) Arbab-ut-Tahwil-o-Tahsil	(b) Tahwilat (37) Mistri-Khana	20, 23
3.	No. B. 2 size script	2519 5″×7½″ Shakista	20 10	Diwan Bhawani Dass	V.S. 1869 1812 A.D.	III. Taujihat-o-Muqar-rariat	(a) Akhrajat (5) Ta'mir (10) Dharmarth	20, 24
4.	No. B. 3 size script	2321 5″×7½″ Shakista	4	Diwan Bhawani Dass	V.S. 1870 1813 A.D.	II. Arbab-ut-Tahwil-o-Tahsil (1) Bayatat (10) Mistri Khana (ii) Ahalkar (1) Tahwil Imam-u-Din Fakir expenditure on buildings etc.	(b) Tahwilat	27, 29
5.	No. B. 3 size script	2321 5″×7½″ Shakista	20	Diwan Bhawani Dass	V.S. 1870 1813 A.D.	III. Taujihat-o-Muqarrariat	(a) Taujihat Akhrajat (6) Ta'mir (11) Dharmarth	27, 31
6.	No. B. 3 size script	2321 5″×7½″ Shakista	3	Diwan Bhawani Dass	V.S. 1870 1813 A.D.	III. Taujihat-o-Muqarrariat	(V) Amla (a) Sangtrash	27, 33

7. No. B. 4 size script	2697 5″×7½″ Shakista	4 31	Diwan Bhawani Dass	V.S. 1871 1814 A.D.	(2) Arbab-ut-Tahwil-o- Tahsil III. Taujihat-o- Muqarrariat	Tahwil at (ii) Ahalkar (54) Hayat Mistri (a) Taujihat Akhrajat (5) Tamir	34, 37
8. No. 6 size script	2734 5″7×½″ Shakista	3 5	Diwan Dina Nath	V.S. 1873 1816 A.D.	(ii) Tahwilat	(5) Zabtidera Ramgarhia (14) Imarat Khana	47, 49
9. No. 7 size script	3097 5″×7½″ Shakista	2	Diwan Dina Nath	V.S. 1874 1817 A.D.	(ii) Tahwilat	(12) Jama Kharch account of Tahwil of Hayat Mistri	52. 54
10. No. 8(i) size script	2420 5″×7½″ Shakista		Diwan Dina Nath	V.S. 1875 1818 A.D.	(ii) Tahwilat	Jama Kharch account of Tahwil of Hayat Mistri	58, 60
11. No. 8(ii)	889	26	Name not given	V.S. 1875-76 1818-19 A.D.	(ii) Zakhira Qila	(4) Ta'mir qila Multan	64, 65
12. No. 10 size script	3574 5″×7½″ Shakista	2	Diwan Dina Nath	V.S. 1877 1820 A.D.	(ii) Tahwilat	Jama-Kharch account of Tahwil of Hayat Mistri, 15 No. Tahwil	74, 76
13. No. 13 size script	4233 5″×7½″ Shakista	1 6	Diwan Dina Nath	V.S. 1880 1873 A.D.	(ii) Tahwilat etc.	Jama-Kharch account of (6) Tahwil of Mistri Amir and (29) Tahwil of Hayat Mistri	98, 101
14. No. 14 size script	4831 5″×7½″ Shakista	3	Diwan Dina Nath	V.S. 1881 1824 A D.	(d) Mawhjib	Amla pay rolls of (3) barwurd Sangtrash	107, 114
15. No. 19 size script	4318 5″×7½″ Shakista	3	Diwan Dina Nath	V.S. 1886 1829 A.D.	(II) Tahwilat	(28) Tahwil of Radha Kishan Pandit	145, 148
16. No. 22 size script	4517 5″×7½″ Shakista	3 2 2 1 1	Diwan Dina Nath	V.S. 1889 1832 A.D.	(d) Madid Kharch	(5) Monsieur Ventura (6) Court (7) Canora Farhangi (8) Harlau Farhangi (9) Garron Farhangi (10) Doct Mdrin Farhangi	169, 176
17. No. 32 size script	4816 5″×7½″ Shakista	1	Diwan Dina Nath	V.S. 1899 1842 A.D.	(b) Piyada	(11) Barawurd Rahim Bakhsh	242, 247
18. No. 33 size script	7028 5½″×7″ Shakista	15	Diwan Dina Nath	V.S. 1900 1843 A.D.	(ii) Tahwilat	Jama Kharch of (28) No. Tahwil of Qadir Bakh Mi'mar	249, 253

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
19.	No. 35 size script	3521 $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$ Shakista	47	Diwan Dina Nath	V.S. 1902 1845 A.D.	(ii) Tahwilat etc.	Tahwilat No. 41 of Martin Horniburger	266, 267
20.	-do-	-do-	1	-do-		(V) Madid Kharch	(1) Barawurd Rahim Bakhsh	269
21.	No. 36 size script	3914 $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$ Shakista	3	Raja Dina Nath	V.S. 1903 1846 A.D.	(i) Tahwilat	Jama Kharch account of (18) Tahwil of Rahim Bakhsh	274, 275
22.	No. 36 size script	3914 $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$ Shakista	1	Raja Dina Nath	V.S. 1903 1846 A.D.	(IV) Madid Kharch	(5) Rahim Bakhsh Shaikh	274, 277
23.	No. 37(ii) size script	4607 $5\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$ Shakista	2 20	Raja Dina Nath	V.S. 1904 1847 A.D.	(i) Tahwilat etc.	Jama Kharch account of the (15) Tahwil Martin (Horniburger) (30) "Imarat" Akalgarh	283
			331					



116. Guru Hargobind.



117. Guru Gobind Singh.



118. Guru Har Kishan.



119. Ambir Singh Naqqash.





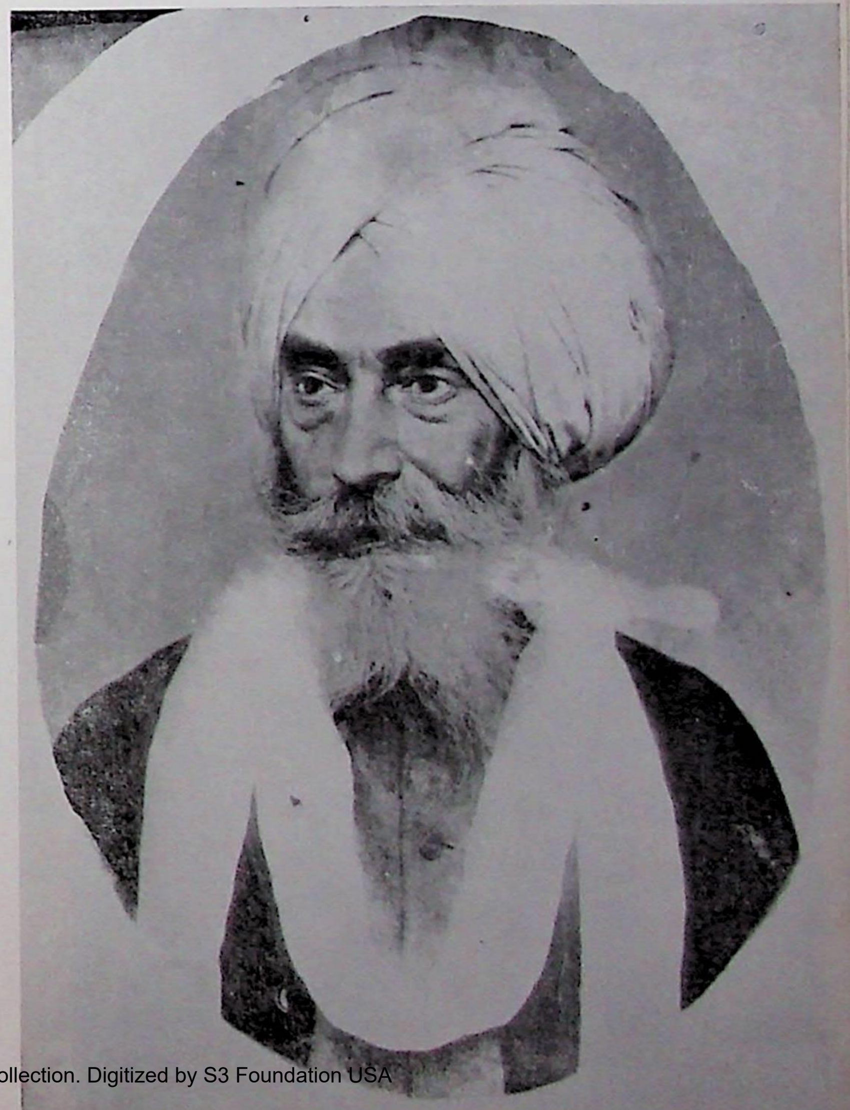
120. Kehar Singh.

121. Baba Kishan Singh.

122. Artist Kapur Singh.

123. Rood Singh Naqqash.



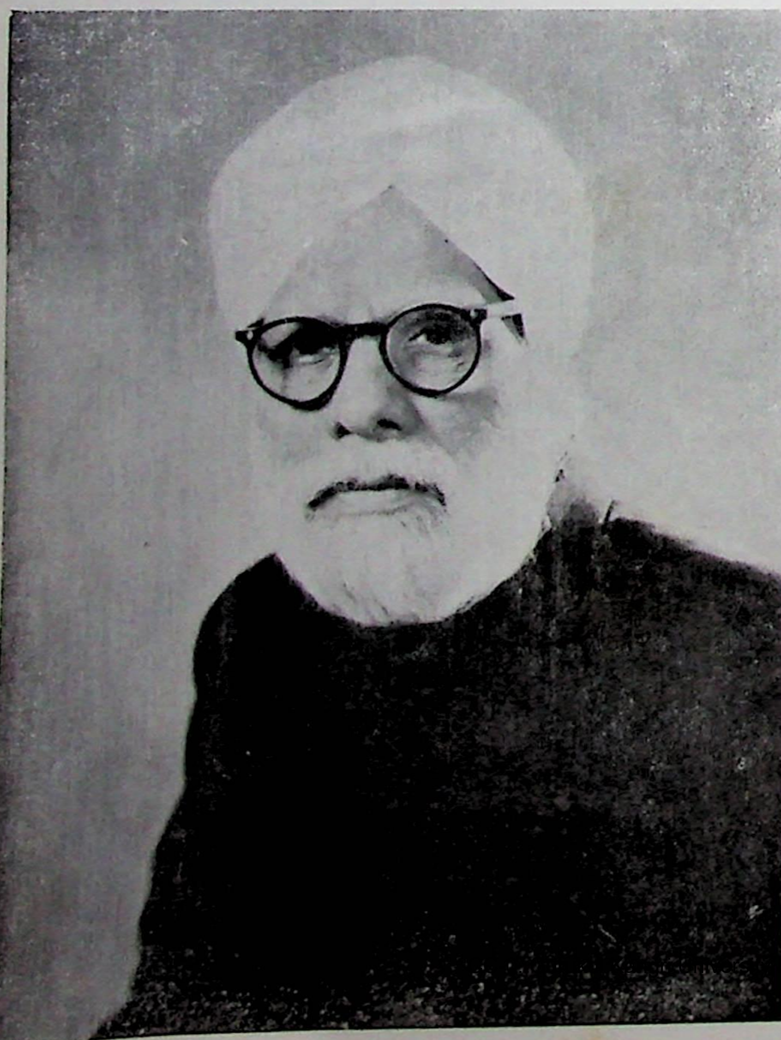


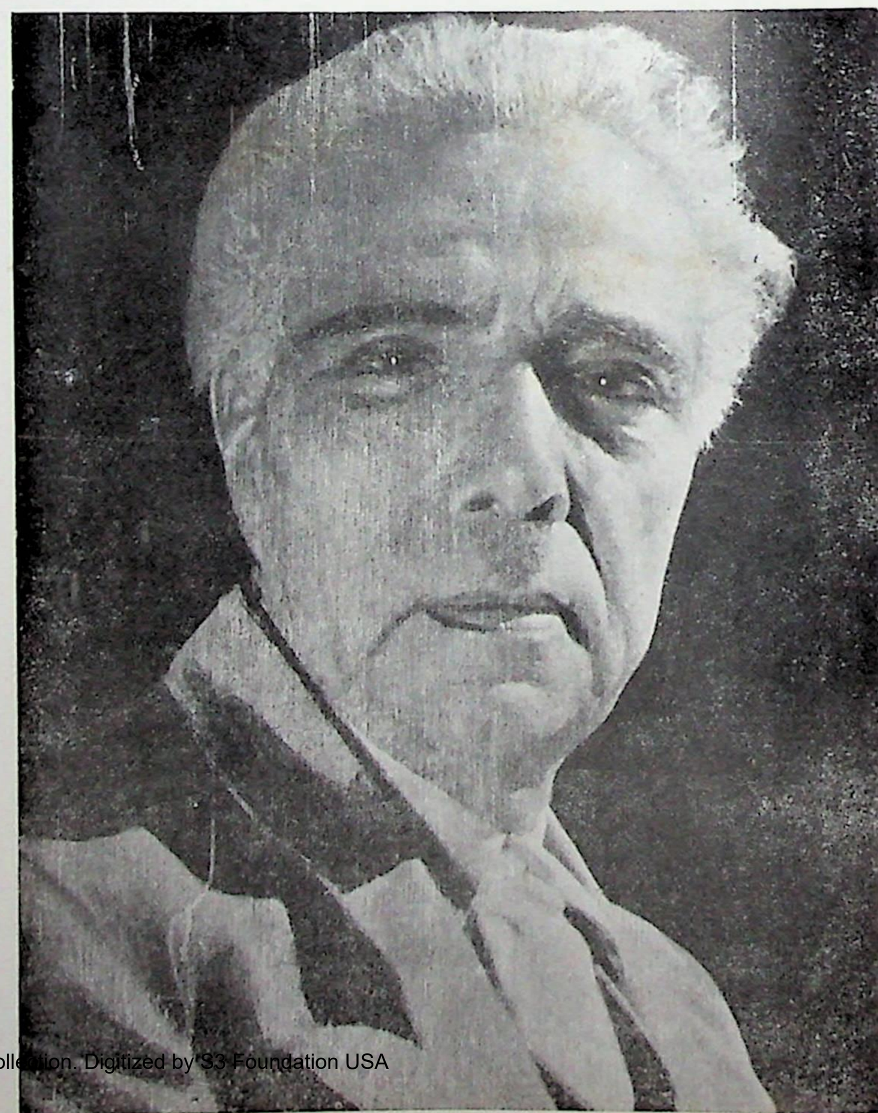




125. Mallah Ram artist.

127. Sardar S.G. Thakur Singh.





← 124. Bhai Ishar Singh Naqqash.

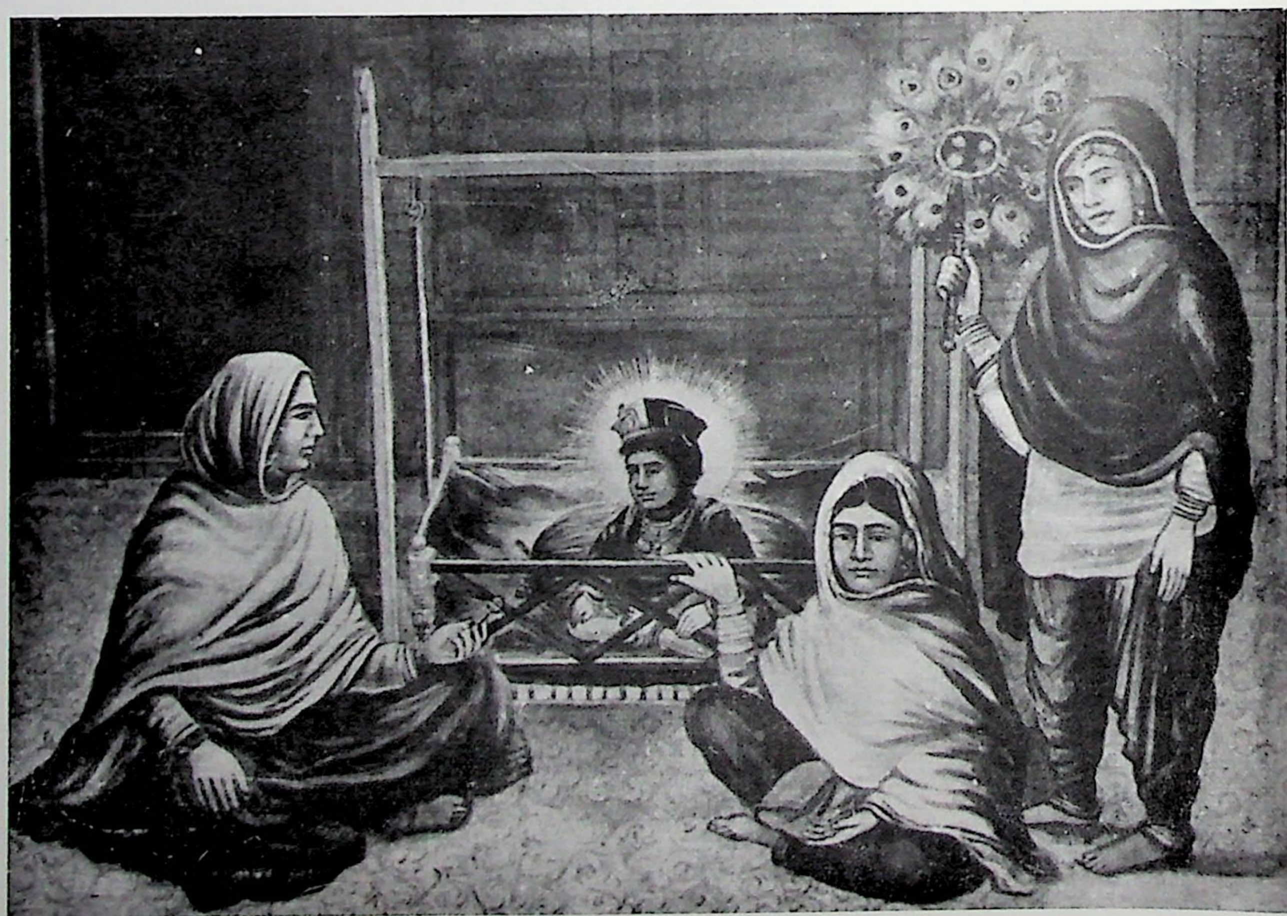
← 126. Muhammad Abdul Rahman Chughtai.



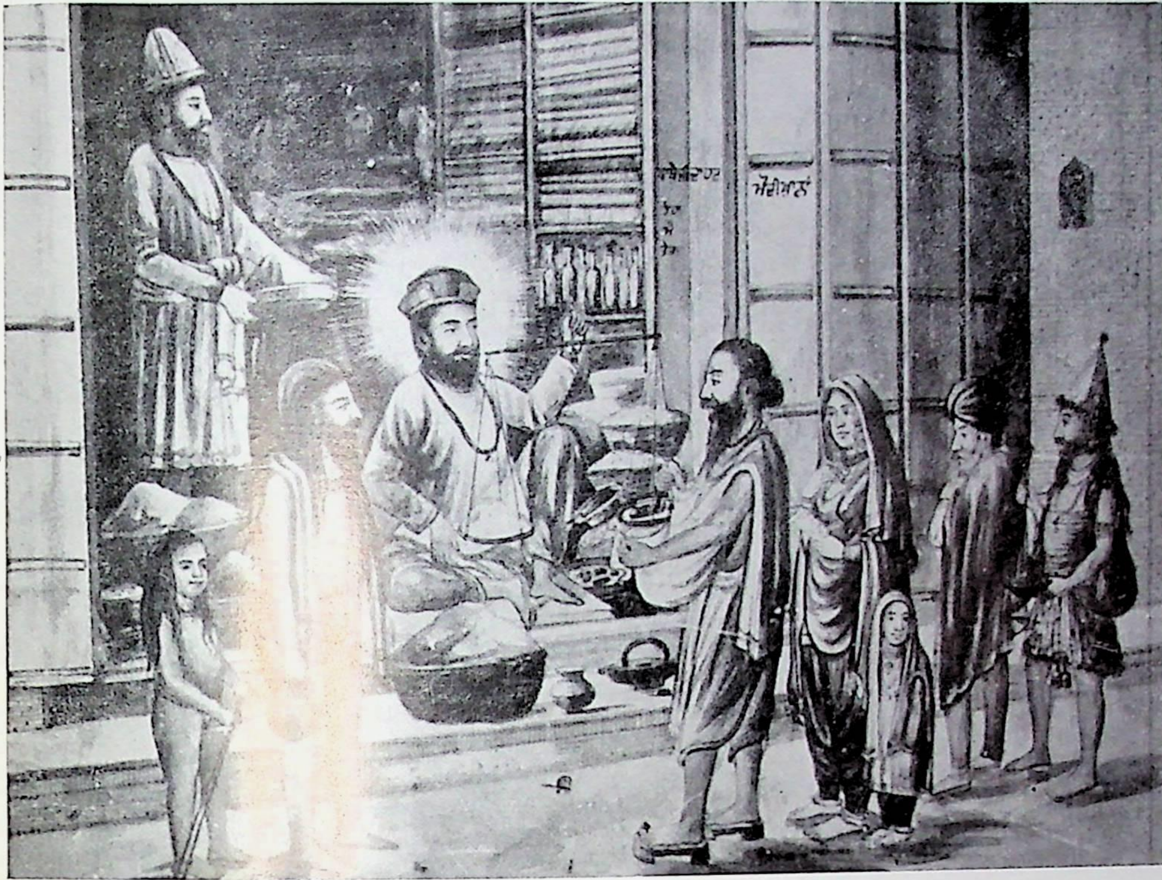
128. Ustad Ahmad Mimar, Chughtai Museum Trust, Lahore (Pakistan).



129. Sunder playing with Gopis. Courtesy Chughtai Trust, Lahore (Pakistan).



130. Guru Nanak in the cradle, 19th century, Lahore, Punjab Government Archives, Patiala.



131. Guru Nanak,
19th century, Lahore,
Punjab Government
Archives, Patiala.



132. Baba Miran Bakhsh Naqqash,
Wazir Khan Mosque,
Lahore (Pakistan).



133. Sketch of Snakes, 19th Century, Punjab, Punjab Government Museum, Chandigarh.



135. Prince Charak Singh, Fakir Khana Museum, Lahore (Pakistan).



134. Painting on Ivory: 1. Nawab Muzaffar Khan 2. Raja Khushal Singh 3. Sardar Sham Singh 4. Maharaja Sher Singh, Punjab Govt. Archives, Patiala (Punjab).



136. Sardar Shamsher Singh Attariwala, Courtesy Fakir Khana Museum, Lahore (Pakistan).



137. Diwan Mohkam Chand, Fakir Khana Museum, Lahore (Pakistan).



بسم اللہ الرحمٰن الرحیم

"FAQIR KHANA"
BHATI GATE
LAHORE

[illegible] تاریخ 1968

مکرمی سری واستاوا صاحب ایڈ کلکٹر

آداب و نیاز — آج فقیر کو اپنے [illegible] فقیر سید وحید الدین [illegible] کا خط جس میں [illegible]
[illegible] صاحب جناب تک وصول ہوا۔

یہ فقیر کی خاندانی تصاویر، دستاویزات، نادرات وغیرہ کا ذخیرہ ہے اور آپ ایسے
علم دوست کی خدمت میرا فرض اور زندگی کا مقصد ہے۔

"فقیر خانہ" میں سکھ عہد کی جو یادگاری محفوظ ہیں ان کا جواب شاید برصغیر میں اور کہیں نہیں
حکومت پاکستان نے [illegible] کی یادگاری میں جو میوزیم لاہور قلعہ میں تیار کروایا ہے اس میں جو تصاویر
ہیں وہ یورپی مصوروں کی بنی ہوئی ہیں اور فقیر خانہ میں جو تصاویر ہیں وہ کہر سنگھ، امام بخش لاہوری
وغیرہ مشاہیر کی ہیں۔ اور جو تصاویر تقریباً ۱۵۰ ۱۶۰ ہیں۔

فقیر کی [illegible] بھی "فقیر خانہ" میں ہی ہے اور وہاں ہی تمام نادرات موجود ہیں۔ آپ جب بھی تشریف
لاویں فقیر کو اپنی خدمت کے لئے تیار پائیں گے۔ فقط

امید ہے کہ آپ بخیریت ہوں گے

خیر اندیش
فقیر سید [illegible] الدین بخاری

Recd
13/3/68

138. Appendix F.

وعذر تقصیرات ماضیه عموهای خود بپاتال مامور نمود اشمان درانجا

بملاقات نارد جی وگرر جی مستفیض گشته از حال عموهای خود استفسار

نمود آنها احوال بر اختلال آنها من وعن بیان نموده بنجات آنها

منحصر بر آب گنگ نهادند اشمان بعد عجز والحاح بسیار اسپ از کپل

گرفته در خدمت راجه سگر بهره یاب گردید جگ صدم نیز باتصرام

رسید چون راجه سگر بدیولوک رفت اشمان چندی بحکمرانی پرداخته

هنگام پیری نیابت خود براجه دلیپ پسر خود سپرده بتمنای

آب گنگ بعبادت خالق بی ریو ورنگ مشغول گردید اما کاری ساخت

چون ایام پیری بر دلیپ نیز عیان گشتند بدستور پدر سلطنت را

بپسر خود که بهاگیرتهه نام داشت تسلیم نمود بجستجوی رود گنگ

بحبل المتین عبادت متمسک گردید اما هیچ از دستش نیامد چون

نوبت سلطنت براجه بهاگیرتهه که مقبول کونین و مقصود دارین بود

رسید بنجات بزرگان خود بعبادت بیچون مشغول گردید چون عبادت

139. Appendix G.



140. Three artists of Punjab Painting.

APPENDIX F

FAQIR KHANA
BHATI GATE
LAHORE

Photocopy of letter of Faqir Sayyid Mughis-ud-din Bukhari.

donations to these religious institutions indirectly contributed to the promotion of education. Apart from this, he patronised centres of higher learning. For example, there was an institute of Arabic and Persian scholarships in the Bazar-i-Hakiman in Lahore, which received aid from him in the shape of donations and stipends for poor students. Nor were the fine arts neglected. Painting, for example, flourished under his patronage and a Sikh school of painting came into existence. It was an eclectic school, combining the Mughal method of treating the subject with the vivid colours of the Kangra school. There were a number of painters at his court, of whom the most prominent were Muhammad Bakhsh, Kehr Singh and Purkhu of Kangra. Ranjit Singh himself had a keen aesthetic sense. He designed a marble summerhouse with twelve doors in Hazuri Bagh and had it constructed under his personal supervision. No less artistic than the summerhouse — on another scale and in another medium — were the lanterns he had fixed on the upturned tusks of Sundargaj, the most imposing of his seven hundred-odd elephants. These lanterns were a combination of beauty and utility: they lent a baroque grandeur to Sundargaj and also lighted the way for him and for others. It used to be a grand sight when Sundargaj passed at night through the streets of Lahore, especially through Moti Bazar, the most fashionable shopping centre of the city, lined with jewellers' shops. With his jewel-studded gold howdah glittering in the light of his own lanterns added to the shop lights, he used to look like a walking jeweller's shop. Quite imaginably, the effect was further heightened when Sundargaj carried on his back one of the jewels of the royal harem, Moran or Gul Begum, and his lanterns lit up her beauty and the magnificence of her dress.

Ranjit Singh's patronage of commerce, industry and arts and crafts brought about a good deal of urban development. There were four principal cities with populations

Page 121 from Faqir Sayyid Wahid-ud-din Bukhari's *Real Ranjit Singh.*

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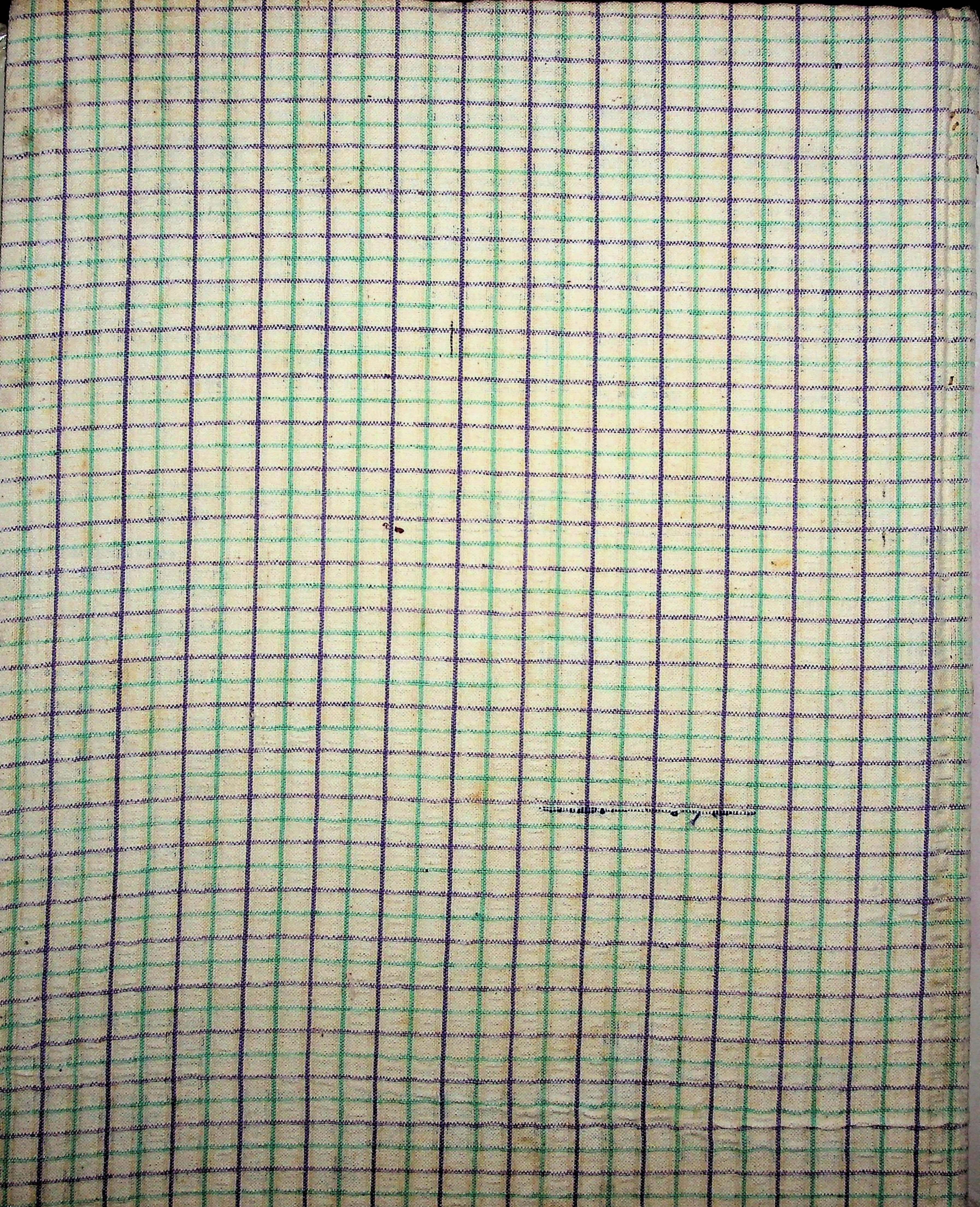


The Author

Born 1932 at Roorkee (U.P.), M.A., Ph.D. in History of Art with title "*Painting in Punjab: Study in Art and Culture*" from Meerut University, Meerut. Edited special issue of *The Sikh Sansar*, Redwood City (Calif.) U.S.A., devoted to *Sikh Art*, in 1973-74; "*Patronage of Fine Arts under the Sikh Rulers of Punjab*" in 1973-74 in Indian Historical Review; "*Painting in Punjab*" in 1979-80 in the Sikh Courier London; "*S.G. Thakur Singh: An Artist of Two Generations*" in The Sikh Courier in 1977, London; "*Manuscript as a source of Cultural History of India*" in Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal, Hoshiarpur; "*Abdul Rahman Chughtai: An Asian Artist of Mughal Ancestry*" in Orientations, Hong Kong; "*Muslim Architects and Artists of Maharaja Ranjit Singh*" in *Islamic Quarterly*, London; "*Rare Vaishnavite Manuscripts at Patiala*" in *B.O.I.R. Annals* (*Poona*); "*Sikh Painting or Sikh School of Painting: A Myth or Reality*" in V.I. Journal Vol. XIX Pt I & II—June-December, 1981, Hoshiarpur; "*Some Reflections on the New Evidence of Punjab Painting*" in The Sikh Review, Calcutta, October 1982 Vol XXX No. 346; Regular contributor to The Sikh Courier, London, and The Sikh Review, Calcutta and many other journals of repute in India and abroad. Serving the Punjab Education Department for the last twenty-nine years. Now actively engaged in teaching and research at Postgraduate Department of Fine Arts of Government College for Women, Patiala affiliated to Punjabi University, Patiala (Punjab), with effect from 1974. Life Member, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona; Fellow, Royal Asiatic Society, London, England; Member-Asiatic Society, Calcutta; Member, Indian Institute of Islamic Studies, New Delhi. Appointed UGC Visiting Fellow at Indira Kala Sangit University, Khairagarh (M.P.) 1983.

Field of Specialization: art and architecture of Punjab, Mughal painting and architecture, manuscript painting, art historiography, social background of Indian art.





R P Srivastava

PUNJAB PAINTING

